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NOTES AND NEWS

IN honour of the Coronation of Her Majesty Elizabeth II an exhibition of representative manuscripts and books was opened in the Main Library in May. CORONATION EXHIBITION. The manuscript exhibits were arranged in four main groups. In the first case were Royal Manuscripts and Rolls dating from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, including several items noteworthy as having belonged to various English kings and queens ; for example, a thirteenth century psalter containing the autograph of Joan (d. 1437), wife of Henry IV ; Mary Queen of Scots' Book of Hours, and Elizabeth I's copy of the Wyclifite Gospels. In the same case was a vellum roll of New Year's gifts given and received by Elizabeth I in 1559 ; a fifteenth century "Chroniques de St. Denis" opened at a miniature depicting the coronation of Charlemagne ; and an illuminated English roll of the same century showing the descent of our kings and queens from Adam to Henry VI.

Since there is in the Library a series of royal account books and records from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century, a selection was made to illustrate the manner in which the royal accounts have been kept over a period of five centuries. Household account books and wardrobe books were shown of Edward I (1298), Edward II (1313-14), Philippa, queen of Edward III (1330-2), Joan, wife of Henry IV (1420-1), Catherine of Aragon and the Princess Mary (1520), William III (1696), and Queen Anne (1710). In a third case were exhibited medieval chronicles and annals (twelfth to fifteenth centuries) containing references to, or descriptions of, medieval coronations, among them those

for the legendary crowning of King Arthur and for the coronation of Richard Cœur de Lion; the latter coronation is the first of an English king for which there is a detailed account.

Another case was devoted to heraldic manuscripts, mostly emblazoned, from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, the earliest being the Stacey Grimaldi Roll, an early fifteenth century copy of a compilation of about A.D. 1350. Well-known English heralds represented were Robert Glover (d. 1588), John Philipott (d. 1645) and Sir William Dugdale (d. 1686). In 1582 Glover attended Lord Willoughby when that nobleman bore the insignia of the Garter to Frederick II of Denmark, and one of the codices exhibited was the armorial of English peers prepared for and presented to King Frederick on this occasion. Other codices showed emblazoned coats of arms of Scottish, Welsh and Irish noble families prepared in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the statutes of the Order of the Garter "refourmed, explayned, declared and renewed by . . . Henry the viijth".

The cases devoted to printed books were no less varied in content. Editions of chronicles and romances printed by Caxton and his immediate successors described or illustrated in woodcut the coronations or events in the reigns of English kings from Brut and Arthur to Edward I. A copy of the first book Caxton printed in this country, *The Dyctes and Sayenges of the Phylosophers* (1477), with a miniature showing the printer and the translator, Earl Rivers, presenting their work to Edward IV, lay beside his "Propositio Johannis Russell", the speech made by the Chancellor of England as one of the envoys sent by Edward IV in February, 1470 to invest Charles, Duke of Burgundy, with the Garter. Among books of Henry VIII's reign were the "Great" Bible (1540) and a vellum copy of the *Assertio septem sacramentorum*, composed by the King, as a reward for which the Pope conferred on him the title of "Fidei defensor". This copy has an inscription in the King's handwriting presenting the volume to the King of Hungary. Other exhibits illustrated the coronation or reign of every monarch from Henry VIII to George VI. The First (1549) and Second (1552) Prayer Books of Edward VI, "Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book", the Prayer

Book of Charles II (1662) and the King James's Bible of 1611 were also shown.

Sixteenth century books included a copy of Saxton's *Atlas*, printed in 1579 and dedicated to Elizabeth, whose portrait forms the frontispiece. Since the Library is rich in pamphlet material of the seventeenth century, items were shown describing the hospitality extended to James I on his journey from Edinburgh on his accession, and his entertainment in the city of London (in which Ben Jonson took part) in the following year. A group of controversial writings on the execution of Charles I included works by Milton and the books to which he replied, whilst the reign of Charles II was illustrated by a pamphlet describing his coronation at Scone on 1 January 1651.

Also on view were orders for the coronation processions of Anne, George IV and Victoria, engravings of the processions of James II and William and Mary, and colour prints of other coronation scenes. The last case had a closer personal association with our sovereigns ; it contained books from royal private libraries bearing on the bindings the arms of their owners.

The Library has recently received from Mrs. H. D. Rawnsley of Allan Bank, Grasmere, Westmorland, a generous donation of 600 letters and papers relating to John Ruskin. This collection, one of the most interesting additions of its kind in recent years, covers the period from 1873 to 1902 and includes over 500 letters in Ruskin's own hand written between 1873 and 1889. Of the six main groups into which it has been arranged, the major one consists of letters which he wrote to his friend Mrs. Fanny (G. T.) Talbot between December 1874 and June 1889 and more particularly in 1885 and 1886. Many are concerned with games of chess which they played by correspondence, but the literary historian will find much of value in them. Mrs. Talbot was a foundation member of the Guild of St. George, one of the most ambitious of Ruskin's schemes for the betterment of his fellows, and there is much information relating to the Guild scattered throughout them, as well as other sidelights on his opinions and outlook during this

LETTERS OF
JOHN
RUSKIN.

important period of his life. From the latter point of view another group, though smaller in number—it contains 140 items compared with the 365 addressed to Mrs. Talbot—may be considered by some to be of greater interest. This consists of letters which he wrote to Miss Blanche Atkinson of Liverpool between 1873 and 1884, the correspondence being most full for the first quarter of this period. In the standard edition of Ruskin's works by Cook and Wedderburn, comprehensive though it is, Mrs. Talbot and Miss Atkinson receive only occasional references and little seems to be known about them; certainly the extent of his relationship with them has not hitherto been suspected. He corresponded too with Mrs. Talbot's son Quartus, and ten of his letters, mostly written in 1877 at Venice, have survived here. The other major correspondent is Ruskin's artist-friend Francesca Alexander, who is represented by twenty-four letters which she wrote to Mrs. Talbot in the late 1880s and early 1890s. The remaining items, some sixty in number, are concerned for the most part with the affairs of the Guild of St. George, to which reference has already been made. Scholars are greatly indebted to Mrs. Rawnsley for so generously making these letters and papers available to them.

The collection, as already indicated, contains much which should interest the serious student of Ruskin, and although in this respect the following two extracts can hardly claim to be outstanding, they afford us glimpses of Ruskin's daily life which may perhaps be of more general interest. Both are recorded in drafts written by his friend Mrs. Fanny Talbot and sent to the late Canon H. D. Rawnsley. In 1876 Ruskin paid a visit to Tynyffynon, her house at Barmouth, and some three years later she was invited to Brantwood, the property in the Lake District within sight of Coniston Old Man which he purchased in August 1871 and which for the remaining thirty years of his life was his home and refuge. It is her account of these two visits which we print here :

RUSKIN AT
BARMOUTH
AND
BRANTWOOD.

" I have been trying to think what I can tell you of Ruskin's visit to us that would be of any interest. It was in August, '76, July it was to have been, but was put off again and again. At last the day seemed positively fixed [and trains were met in vain. Next morning there came a letter from]¹ Dolgelley. He had been quite obliged to stop there to revive some old recollections of forty years ago, and to write something of his journey for 'Fors' whilst it was fresh in his mind, but he would be down by train next day. [So every train was met and dinner put off.]¹ Suddenly in the afternoon some luggage appeared marked 'J.R.', and his man, saying that they had driven from Dolgelley, but about three miles back he had got out of the carriage saying it was too beautiful, he must walk, and we must not wait dinner. He could not eat any. He would like tea much better. And so at last he did arrive, and we could scarcely believe that we really had him in our own possession.

" Before he left us for the night at ten o'clock we talked over home arrangements, what hours would suit him best, dinner late or early? 'But what do you all like?' he said. 'Some of us like it late', I said, 'but I like it early.' 'And I like it early', he said. So that was fixed. 'And now may your girls give me coffee at 7 in my own room? I shall have been up early writing. And breakfast, please, at 9, if that will not disarrange you.' And so the day was settled.

" After breakfast he went back to his room to work and we did not often see him till dinner. He would go for a little turn alone, then [after dinner]¹ his work seemed to be ended. We sometimes went to walk all together, sometimes he asked Quary to go alone with him and take his hammer, and they would clamber about the mountains, and after tea they would generally play chess. I watched the game, for he always liked it written down. Two or three days after he arrived, his man was taken ill with a chill and inflammation. He thought he would send him back and telegraphed for another to come, but came to us soon after saying he could not bear to send poor Downes [sic] away, as it was the first time he had ever been out with him, and it would so mortify

RUSKIN IN
NORTH
WALES, 1876.

¹ Struck through.—Ed.

him. Our girls could do everything he wanted, and he could get on with his work as well here as at home if we could let him stay on here rather longer than he had intended. So it was arranged, and he was with us for 10 days instead of 4 or 5. Poor Downs, with nursing and poulticing, was soon about again, and we were very thankful to him for getting ill.

"An early afternoon we went with him to all the cottages, and introduced him to the tenants. At one of the very poorest, a dark little place, we found the father and mother both out at work and a little heap of dirty children on the floor, the eldest, a girl of about nine, in charge of the younger ones. It greatly distressed him, and he said we must find someone to take care of these children whilst the parents were at work, but of course that was impossible.¹ At another there was a sweet-looking woman with one baby boy, in great sorrow, having recently lost her husband, and was suffering from severe tooth-ache. He was very much interested in her and sent her to the chemist to get something to relieve the pain. She was very unhappy, too, at the thought that she would be unable to remain in her cottage, and could not bear the thought of leaving the home where her husband had died. We talked of this when we got back, and he proposed that she should stay in the cottage for one year, rent-free. By that time she would see whether she would be able to continue there and pay the rent, which was quite low enough. She is still with us, one of the best of our tenants.

"He was very interested in our French friend, Monsieur Guyard. He was then ill in bed, but Mr. Ruskin begged to be allowed to see him.

"One afternoon we drove with him to Pont Ddu and had a long walk up the valley towards the gold-mines, finding lovely things at every turn. Then we went into the little Half-Way House to tea before driving home.

"Sunday came, and with it the question to him, 'How do you shape your Sunday?' 'I make every day Sunday', was his answer.

¹ No woman, however poor, would submit to having her cottage so invaded, and she could not speak a word of English nor we of Welsh. [Footnote by Mrs. Fanny Talbot.]

"One morning it was cold, and we said we must have a fire; it would soon burn up. So we got matches and bellows. 'Oh, let me light the fire', he said. 'I love lighting a fire', and dropped down on his knees. And so the happy days went on, we feeling as much at home with him as if we had known him for years. The only sadness was the parting, which left a blank in the house."

"It was in January '79 that I first went to Brantwood. Mr. Ruskin had pretty well recovered from his terrible illness of the March before. It was A VISIT TO
RUSKIN IN
1879.

He had been up that day to see a frozen fall on the Old Man, and said we must go to see it and the lake above, which was frozen over. There came a beautiful bright day, and he sent for a carriage, and invited a lady friend staying in the village, and with Mrs. Severn we four set out in a Close Carriage, he sitting back to the horse. 'He always did', Mrs. Severn said, 'and always had a Close Carriage.' We drove to within about half a mile of the fall, then, with his help, climbed a rather rough, steep, slippery way, and saw the magnificent thing he had brought us to see. He spoke in ecstasies of the lovely pinnacles at each side and the transparent veils of ice through which we could see the fall, which it completely covered. Then he took us on to the little lake above, but snow had fallen in the night and he was quite sad, saying, 'Oh, this is not worth seeing, and yesterday it was so glorious, such a colour, beautiful, clear, untouched ice, blue as heaven'. Then the slippery descent, with his firm helping hand, and the drive home.

"He took me one afternoon round his woods, showed me all the little paths and steps and bridges and clearings that he had made with his own hands, and on to what he called Naboth's vineyard.¹ 'The thorn in my flesh', he said, 'I do want it, and cannot get it.' Then down through all his gardens to the greenhouse. 'This', he said, 'is Joanie's [i.e. Mrs. Joan Severn's], I was obliged to build it for her. I don't like it, but the winter

¹ A beautiful bit of ground leading into woods with a beautiful [*rest torn*].
[Footnote by Mrs. Talbot.]

winds destroyed every flower.' Then to the lake to see the little dock and landing he had made for his boat. Then he said, 'Now you go in by the fire. I must go for a quick run to get warm.'

"The house¹ and living at Brantwood were very simple and pleasant. Mr. and Mrs. Severn and their young children were staying there. They had their nursery at the lodge. Brantwood was then too small to give them rooms out of hearing of the Master. He seemed to have got back to his old habit of early rising, and, I think, was up by six o'clock, and had coffee in his study at seven. The family breakfast was at nine or half-past, and as soon as Mrs. Severn came down we made some fresh toast for the Master, chose out the daintiest piece of bacon and poured out a cup of tea. This she took to him in his study. Sometimes I was privileged to carry it in. Then he would come forward with his out-stretched hands, saying 'This is kind', and keep me for a few minutes' chat, and let me make up his fire, for his hands were icy cold.

"After our breakfast Mrs. Severn would go in to him with his letters and bring back a great packet to answer for him. I think till breakfast he was at work on some book or paper, 'Prosperine', I fancy, for one day he brought me a drawing of a spray of Cotoneaster No. 15, saying, 'I am rather proud of that. Don't you think it nice? You may keep it to look at if you wish, whilst you are here.' So I carried it off to my room.

"For lunch he had a glass of sherry and a biscuit in his study, and after that would go out to work in his wood, bringing any lovely thing he found to show us in the drawing-room—one day a great lump of clear ice from his stream, with a fern-leaf frozen into it, and laid it down in my lap as I sat by the fire, saying, 'Joanie, do get a dish, Mrs. Talbot will be wet through, and, Joanie, these are bad gloves, all the stitches come out'. These were the pleasant variations in our quiet winter afternoons.

"One day a devoted admirer called, such a queer man, a member of the Guild I think. He hardly dared to sit down,

¹ The furniture evidently from the old house, with no modern improvements.
[Footnote by Mrs. Talbot.]

he evidently felt he was in such a holy place. Then he was taken into the study for a private interview. When he returned to take his leave of us he seemed quite awe-struck and said, 'I feel as if I had been with Shakespeare'.

"Dinner I think was at six, and the Master joined us in the dining room a quarter before and dined with us, then went back to his study to rest till tea at eight, when he would come into the drawing-room with a book. The first evening [he] was finishing one of Miss Edgeworth's novels, which I thought very dull, but he and Joanie went into great ecstasies over it. I was glad when it was finished. Then he had some papers about Sir Herbert Edwardes which he afterwards published as 'A Knight's Faith', and he read us one evening out of Bloomfield's poems 'Abner and the Widow Jones', and any little interesting thing that he may have met with during the day. At ten o'clock he put aside his books."

On 26 August 1843, Dickens gave one of his famous dinner parties at the Star and Garter, Richmond, the occasion being the departure of his friend Macready, the actor, on his second American tour. Macready himself has left an account of the festivities (*Reminiscences*, ed. Pollock, ii (1875), 214), but it is very brief and contains nothing more than a reference to the part played by Dickens. There has recently come to light, however, a second version which is not only considerably more informative but also gives at some length the speech which Dickens made in honour of Macready. This version, which is contained in a letter found among the collection presented to the Library by Mrs. Rawnsley, was written by another of those present, a Mr. F. Crew, to Mrs. Fanny Talbot. Crew was an amateur vocalist of some repute and although there appears to be little information available concerning him, he was well known to Dickens, who invited him to the party to entertain the guests. Crew was clearly impressed by the distinguished company assembled at the Star and Garter and has recorded his impressions of the whole affair in the following account :

A DICKENS
DINNER
PARTY, 1843.

" Not long after I had closed my envelope [there] reached me something like this :

Dear Sir,

A few friends will dine together at the Star and Garter, Richmond, on Saturday at four for the purpose of giving a farewell dinner to Mr. Macready on his departure for America. It struck me on my journey to town from Broadstairs that your company would be a great acquisition to our party. I do not pretend to hide from you that I am in some measure selfish in this invitation, but yet I think you will derive some pleasure from such a meeting. You can but be aware how charmed I always am with your delightful voice, nor less admirable taste, and I would willingly afford my friends who will be present upon this occasion an example of them. Do not, however, look upon the reason of my asking the pleasure of your company, but come. You will by doing it very much oblige

Yours most faithfully

Charles Dickens.

My reply was :

Dear Sir,

I care not to what I owe an invitation so agreeable as that you have favoured me with. It will afford me unmixed gratification to join a party where you are the presiding deity and Mr. Macready the object of your protection. It will, however, add to my feelings of delight if you will permit me to be one *of*, instead of one *with* you. I shall prefer being one of the hosts on such an occasion to being a visitor although you are the inviter.

Yours very truly,

F. C[rew]

[At this point the writer sketches the arrangement of the table in circular form. Beginning with Dickens and proceeding to the right hand we have the following order : Macready,

Dillon, C. Smith, Dr. Quin, F. Crew, G. Raymond, Rev. W. J. Fox, Forster, Maclise, Landseer, Frank Stone, Rev. R. H. Barham, and C. Stanfield.]

“ It would perhaps be difficult to find such a party again. It contained all that was brilliant in wit, the greatest ('tis said) dramatist, the first-rate painters, the greatest critics of the day, one of the best historians, in short, all that might be expected to add brilliancy to wine or give effect to association. Now have I not excited your envy? You cannot require [to ask] who all these are for they are so known to fame that, with the exception of two or three, they are men who all the world claim as citizens, and of whom we have so much cause to be proud in being their countrymen.

Dickens—The Boz : Barham—The Ingoldsby : Stanfield—The Artist of sea and land and sky and nature : Stone—One of those whose pencil will ever be prized by those who love the exquisite touches of domestic life he so ably depicts : Ed[win] Landseer—*The Landseer*, whose horses neigh from the canvas and whose dogs wd. drive the thief from our door : Maclise—He who stands at the head of his great profession as a painter of the sublime and terrible, who draws like a Rubens and colours like a Titian : Forster—The great critic of the day, one whose frown damns, whose praise makes a man as a dramatist. The author of many works in History and Biography : Rev. Fox —The philosopher and philanthropist, the orator of “ The Cartoons ” : Raymond—The author of many successful farces and the coveted companion of the celebrated wits of the day : F. Crew—The only *in-famous* one of the party : Dr. Quin—Author of a work on the Danube, the Rhine, and the best English Frenchman of his times or, perhaps, any other : C. Smith—A great accomptant, actuary of the ‘Eagle’ Assurance, and author of many works of deep research in figures : Mr. Dillon—The most valuable man in the party, for he could purchase all but the *minds* of the whole. He does not, however, want that desirable quality, for he is a very clever as well as rich man. My opinion is that riches is proof of cleverness, as of any other useful qualification :

Mr. Macready—To some, *and* all of them, perhaps, no, not perhaps but certainly, better judges than I am, the greatest tragedian, certainly a man of the most versatile talent living. The Chairman spoke of his Macbeth, Henry V, etc. I would have placed his Iago at the head of his excellences and staked his fame upon the issue.

“ Thus, you see, my dear Fanny, I have given you a list, and a very slight indication of our party, and perhaps you will say—Yes, but tell me what passed—Well then, Fanny, much turtle and venison and lamb and ham and grouse and at least fifty other dishes passed away, and much hock, sherry, moselle, madeira, champagne, port, etc., passed—and certain quantities of ices and creams and pine apples, melons and sundry other fruits passed, and some quaint sayings and many witticisms and great laughter passed, till the business of the day, the object of the meeting, showed itself in Mr. Dickens proposing the health of the guest—and oh that I could convey to you even a distant idea of its brilliancy, of its lovely lights and shades, of its enthusiasm and pathos, at once exciting our smiles and tears! I wish I could tell you his description of the ‘rolling, ever-swelling wave which will only rest from its turbulence when he wanted to waft his sighs of love to those beings who felt all the woes of parting, anticipated the joys of again meeting’; that I could recollect how vividly he painted the love of his wife, the affection of his children, how he made one envy his powers of describing the attachment of his friends, how playfully and wittily he gave a slight sketch of his own opinion of America and Americans. ‘Oh’, he said, ‘how willingly would I ask that my name might be a passport to the heart of everyone you meet, but pray avoid its use, rather depend upon the recollections they have of your own excellences. You went before to gain golden opinions and you will reap a plentiful harvest from the well-strewed field you planted. May each add to your happiness and all to your riches, and we, whilst we weep at your departure, will look forward with hope for your return. May the vessel which bears to us so blessed a freight encounter nothing but favouring gales. May the mighty ocean itself swell its bosom but to such an extent as to lull your regrets, and when you shall have realised the bright hopes

you set out with, and gained, as you must do, the admiration of all you encounter, may you return to us, not increased in those natural graces so enviable, for you possess them all, not with increased energy for the path you have chosen, for that is perfect, but with increased health and wealth and power for enjoyment ; and let me, my friend, my own beloved friend, the beloved friend of us all, assure you, and I may assure you, for I have felt it, that the moment your foot again touches your native shore, those around you now will be present to greet you with their welcomes, and she who will weep for your absence, the beloved partner of your life, the affectionate pledges of that love she has presented to you, will all be present ; and when your little ones shall spring to your arms and your wife sink upon your breast, the wild storm you may have passed will appear but as the calm breeze that wafted you home, and if misery shall be thrust upon you it will then appear but as a dream from which you awaken to the happiness of the blessed.' I am quite ashamed of my attempt to describe that which is indescribable. I have placed my words between inverted commas as if the words I have given were the words used, but they are not even the fog which hides the brilliancy of the sun, but, my dear Fanny, that sun cannot shine upon you.

" I rode home in Mr. Barham's carriage with Mr. Barham and his wife. I asked him if he could recollect Dickens' speech. He said, ' No, I should be ashamed of myself if I could. It was too glowing, too bright, too magnificent to be described. Its wit astonished me, its pathos overpowered me, it contained all that was most excellent in his writings without a particle of its verbiage. Theodore Hook only could have surpassed it. Hook spoke better than he wrote. Dickens (till now) has written better than he spoke. I was ashamed of my tears, but shd. have been more not to have cried.'

" Mr. Macready returned thanks more feelingly than eloquently. Indeed, he said, as was evidently true, that his feelings were too much impressed with admiration, gratitude and sorrow to say much. ' I am so poor in thanks that I must have recourse to another's words to present my feelings, and tho' I fear the honesty of the writer may be doubtful, I trust you will *not doubt*

the honesty of the reciter.' He then gave some lines from Byron written on his leaving England. I forget them. I think they begin : ' Tho' my boat is on the shore.'¹ After this speech all was silence for many seconds. Dickens cried out, ' Pray, Crew, stifle this gloom, you only can restore us to ourselves'. I sang ' Poor Jack ' very badly, then again began the repartee, the wit, the fun, and it continued till 12 o'clock. Edwin Landseer sang delightfully a little ballad called ' Lord Lovel and Lady Ronce-belle ' [sic]. Mr. Barham sang a portion of ' Robin Hood and the Bp. of Hereford ' but left off before the Bp.'s punishment, to Mr. Fox's great regret. Stanfield sang very nicely, Dr. Quin told some stories in French in the most charming manner. N.B. There were some who pretended to understand more than they knew, I don't say who but leave you to guess, but even he, or they, couldn't help perceiving the *gist* of the story nor prevent their almost convulsive laughter. Perhaps you will say, ' What else did you sing ? ' ' Rich and Rare ', very badly ; ' Child and Dewdrop ', no better ; ' I did not court thee, etc.', middling-ish ; ' The Pope ' so badly the first time that they made me sing it again ; ' Molly Brallaghan ', pretty well. There were many songs by other parties and I was by no means a Lion in my own department, altho' I had a thousand thanks and much more praise than I deserved."

In May a further addition was made to the Library's already extensive collections of family documents and papers by the deposit of the Warburton Muni- THE WARBURTON MUNIMENTS. ments by Viscountess Ashbrook of Arley Hall, Cheshire. The main feature of this valuable addition consists of some 12,000 bills of the Warburton family dating from the middle of the eighteenth century to the early years of the reign of Queen Victoria. Materials of this nature are not, of course, necessarily in themselves rare, but it is perhaps unusual to find such a comparatively short period so well and thoroughly represented by one type of record. It is mainly in this that the value of the collection lies and for this reason the economic historian is likely to find it well worthy of intensive study.

¹ To Thomas Moore.—Ed.

Accounts of all kinds occur, some for the London household, others, which are in the majority, for the house and estate in Cheshire. Among the series found may be mentioned, to cite only a few varieties, those dealing with servants' wages and clothing, provisions of all kinds, taxes, constables' leys, household articles and repairs, travelling expenses, rentals, poor rate accounts and bills for work done by blacksmiths, farriers, masons, carpenters and potters. In addition there are some thirty manuscript volumes, including account books of the London household and of Lady Warburton and, possibly among the most interesting items of all, volumes containing accounts of Arley Mill and Warburton Mill in the 1760s and 1770s in which are recorded the outgoings, profits and repairs for each month. The whole forms a most welcome addition to the collections already stored in the Library's Charter Rooms.

By the kindness of Colonel and Mrs. W. H. Bromley Davenport the Librarian has been permitted to select

from the catalogue of their Library at Capesthorne Hall, Cheshire, a considerable number of volumes for deposit in this Library where they will be more

BROMLEY
DAVENPORT
DEPOSIT OF
PRINTED
BOOKS.

readily accessible to scholars. The deposit, which it has not yet been possible to catalogue completely, consists of about 240 Italian, 120 Spanish and Portuguese, 200 French and 70 English books, and a small group of 19 works of classical and medieval Latin authors. The most important group is the Italian, largely sixteenth century books, which is rich in editions of separate works of early Italian poets and dramatists. The Spanish and Portuguese and French groups also contain many sixteenth and seventeenth century editions, whilst the English section includes several *STC* items, the bulk of the remainder falling within the period covered by Wing's "Short-title catalogue, 1641-1700". The deposit of classics is not large but adds a number of editions from the early sixteenth century to the fine collection of early editions of the classics which came to the Library in the Spencer collection. The deposit includes one incunabulum, the first and second parts of the edition of the works of Charlier de Gerson printed by Georg Stuchs at Nuremberg in 1489 (H. *7623).

The list of institutions with which exchange agreements have been made continues to increase. During the past six months exchanges of publications have been arranged with seventeen societies or learned bodies in nine different countries. Included among these are universities and colleges in Baltimore, Gent, Frankfurt, Granada, Louvain and Saarbrücken, learned societies in Bangalore, Cairo, Helsinki, Patna and Washington, and the Cistercian abbeys of Westmalle (Belgium) and Cóbreces (Spain). As so many earlier volumes of the BULLETIN are now out of print, exchanges normally commence with the current volume, but we have received almost complete series of five journals from the Knižnica Slovenskej Univerzity, Bratislava, and from the University of Liège all volumes still in print of *Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteit van Wijsbegeerte* from 1909. Generous gifts have been made by, amongst others, the Universities of Copenhagen, Glasgow, Leiden, Louvain, New York, Uppsala and Utrecht, the British Museum and the Library of Congress. Other institutions recently sending publications include the Royal Libraries of Brussels, Copenhagen and Stockholm and the University libraries of California, Melbourne and Minnesota. The Courtauld Institute, the Fouad I University at Giza and the National Archives of India have also made gifts of their own publications. Two welcome gifts from institutions came from the National Register of Archives, ninety-seven volumes containing lists of documents in private hands or in institutions, and from the Académie Royale de Belgique, the nineteen volumes of publications of the Commission Royale d'Histoire issued since the commencement of the war.

Some fifty individual donors also made valuable additions to our collections in recent months. Although all cannot be particularised here, perhaps mention may be made of the latest volume issued by the Roxburghe Club (*La Somme le roy*), presented by Sir Thomas Barlow; *The Scenery of Great Britain and Ireland in aquatint and lithography, 1770-1860*, the gift of Major J. R. Abbey; and *Tablettes d'Albertini* from M. Roger Léonard, Governor General of Algeria. Mr. and Mrs. F. B. Kirk of Romiley have presented a number of modern books

PRINTED
BOOKS:
RECENT
GIFTS AND
EXCHANGES.

on a variety of subjects and several authors have sent us copies of their own works, including Dr. R. W. Chapman, the Rev. Dr. H. McLachlan, and Dr. W. Till.

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The following is a list of the public lectures (the fifty-second series) which have been arranged for delivery in the Lecture Hall of the Library during the current session 1953-4, at 3 p.m. in the afternoon.

14 October 1953. "Browning : From 'Men and Women' to 'Dramatis Personae'." By H. B. Charlton, Professor of English Language and Literature in the University of Manchester.

THE
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LECTURES.

11 November 1953. "John the Baptist." By T. W. Manson, Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

9 December 1953. "John Bright and the Crimean War." By A. J. P. Taylor, Fellow and Tutor in Modern History, Magdalen College, Oxford.

13 January 1954. "Worship and Festivals in an Egyptian Temple." By H. W. Fairman, Brunner Professor of Egyptology in the University of Liverpool.

10 February 1954. "Nehemiah's Mission and its Background." By Harold H. Rowley, Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature in the University of Manchester.

10 March 1954. "Economic and Social Consequences of the Hannibalic War." By Arnold Toynbee, Director of Studies in the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

5 May 1954. "Eumenes of Cardia." By H. D. Westlake, Hulme Professor of Greek in the University of Manchester.

The following is a list of recent Library publications, consisting of reprints of articles which appeared in the last issue of the BULLETIN (March 1953):

"Essence and Existence in Maimonides." By RECENT LIBRARY PUBLICATIONS.
Rabbi Alexander Altmann. 8vo, pp. 22. Price two shillings and sixpence net.

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A MANUSCRIPT IN THE RYLANDS LIBRARY AND FLEMISH-DUTCH AND LOW GERMAN ACCOUNTS OF THE LIFE AND MIRACLES OF SAINT BARBARA

By W. B. LOCKWOOD, M.A.

LECTURER IN GERMAN IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

THREE were four great Virgin Saints venerated in the medieval Church—St. Agnes, St. Catherine, St. Margaret, and St. Barbara. The first three still retain their places as black-letter saints in the Anglican Calendar, but in this country St. Barbara is almost forgotten. Indeed, her cult has never been widespread here. There is only one certain church dedication in her honour, that of Ashton-under-Hill, near Tewkesbury, but even this is to be attributed to French Augustinian monks at one time settled in neighbouring Beckford, whither they had moved from the convent of SS. Martin and Barbara in Normandy.¹ Only in the Norfolk area does a popular cult appear to have existed to any appreciable extent, though this, too, may well have owed its origin to foreigners, in this case to the Flemings, ancient immigrants in East Anglia. In this connection one might mention the puzzling dedication of Haceby Church, near Grantham. The meagreness of the records of this old church leaves room for doubt as to the authenticity of the present dedication to St. Barbara, as quoted, for example, in Crockford's *Clerical Directory* for 1951-2, but it is worth noting that as early as Domesday Book land at *Hazebi* was held by the powerful adventurer Gilbert de Gand who came over with the Conqueror. On the other side of the Channel, however, the cult of St. Barbara was among the most popular. Her power was rated very high, and she was affectionately regarded as the patron saint in time of peril from lightning or fire, as a guardian of those employed in dangerous undertakings, such as armourers, miners

¹ Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedication*, i (1899), 122.

and quarrymen, and especially as a protector against sudden death.¹

St. Barbara was widely revered in Flanders, the Netherlands and eastwards into Germany, as is clear from the many foundations bearing her name. It is also clear from the literary records in the vernaculars—Flemish, Dutch, and Low German—in particular the manuscript accounts of the saint which have come down to us chiefly from the second half of the fifteenth century, and it is mainly these I wish to discuss here.

These accounts—prose monographs—may be said to represent the effective end of a long development in hagiographical writing, the ultimate origin of which is to be found among the earliest records of Christian saints—lists of their names arranged according to the order of their feasts. Such lists are known as ferials or, since many of those celebrated were martyrs for the faith, they are frequently also called martyrologies. The first of these dates from the middle of the fourth century, while the most famous, the “Hieronymian”—it was erroneously ascribed to Jerome—was drawn up in the second half of the fifth century. Later, the utility of such lists was enhanced by the addition under each name of a few sentences summarizing the saint’s history or the circumstances of martyrdom. These are the so-called historical martyrologies, of which many are extant. Thus, from the eighth century we have Bede’s martyrology, and from the ninth century works by Florus, who supplemented Bede, Hrabanus Maurus, Ado and Usuard, whose martyrology was the most used document of its kind until well on in the latter half of the Middle Ages. All these compilations are, of course, in Latin. The Eastern Church encouraged analogous developments; here the Greek collections are generally termed synaxaries and their evolution culminated in the work of Simeon Metaphrastes in the tenth century. His histories are considerably longer than the short notices of the Western martyrologists mentioned above, and in this respect his synaxary may be compared to the best-known of all Latin martyrologies, the *Legenda*

¹ There is no comprehensive modern study of this saint; the *Acta Sanctorum* have not yet reached her day (4 Dec.). Studies of historical interest are N. Müller, *Acta S. Barbarae virg. et mart.* (1703) and F. A. Zaccaria, *De S. Barbarae Nicomediensis cultu* (1781).

Aurea, compiled by Jacobus de Voragine between 1260 and 1270. This work, being "worth its weight in gold", soon became immensely popular throughout the Roman Church and generally superseded older compilations. As an excellent source of *exempla*—brief tales naturally lending themselves to moral interpretation—it was quickly rendered into the vernaculars, and many such versions were made in the Netherlands and Germany. In this way the history of St. Barbara as given by Jacobus became the basis for the further development of the Barbara legend there.

The results of this further development may be seen in the manuscript sources dating from 1440 to the first decade of the sixteenth century. In these the history has been greatly expanded—it is generally provided with a conventional prologue and is followed by an account of the translation of the relics. It is usual to find also an appendix containing a varying number of miracles attributed to the saint. Authorship is anonymous. None of these copious texts has as yet been published, indeed they have scarcely been studied.

Manuscripts of this type are noted by De Vooys in his standard work *Middelnederlandse legenden en exemplen*, 2nd edition (1925), pp. 43-4, where he refers to four manuscripts containing miracles. However, there are actually several more, at least fifteen altogether, to which may be added a single surviving copy of an incunabulum, located in the libraries of Darmstadt,¹ Düsseldorf,² and Hamburg³ in Germany, The Hague⁴ and Nijmegen⁵ in Holland, Brussels⁶ and Ghent⁷ in Belgium, and Manchester⁸ in this country.⁹ This last manuscript

¹ Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, MS. 991.

² Landes- und Stadtbibliothek, MS. C. 20; Staatsarchiv, MS. G.V.1.

³ Stadtbibliothek, MS. 1731.

⁴ Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MSS. 71 H 6, 75 H 17, 133 B 13. A fourth item here is the incunabulum referred to above.

⁵ Oud-Archief, MS. 8; Bibliotheek der R. K. Universiteit, MS. 66.

⁶ Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MSS. 15087-90, 15142, 19554.

⁷ Universiteitsbibliotheek, MSS. 123, 1761.

⁸ John Rylands Library, Dutch MS. 9.

⁹ I am much indebted to Dr. F. P. Pickering, who kindly drew my attention to the Manchester MS. and introduced me to the subject, to Drs. G. I. Lieftinck and J. Deschamps who have greatly assisted me in my search for manuscripts, and to M. Coens, S.J.

is among the longest and details no less than thirty-five miracles out of a total of thirty-nine recorded altogether, the whole document containing some 50,000 words, the equivalent of a small volume today—a far cry from the brief notes of a few dozen words in the historical martyrologies of the early Middle Ages. One can say little about the origin of the documents as the oldest manuscript tradition is confused. But the general background is clear. The demand for this type of literature in both the vernacular and Latin¹ increased rapidly during the fifteenth century and numerous free and partly independent elaborations of the legend were produced. In several of the documents under consideration—and these are the oldest—one can infer from the text that the work is a copy; sometimes this fact is expressly stated, and three copyists signed their names. Occasional Latinisms in one text suggest a translated work, and there are Latin versions corresponding fairly closely to some of the vernacular accounts. Sometimes the Latin and the vernacular are obviously related, for instance, when they both append the same miracles in the same order. On the other hand, the vernacular texts record fifteen miracles not found, so far as I have been able to ascertain, in any Latin codex. Finally, three of the Dutch texts are identical, and two of the German texts are derived from these. Generally speaking, the German texts show dependence on Flemish-Dutch sources, especially as regards the miracles; on the other hand, the purely Flemish and Dutch documents regularly include miracles described as having taken place in Germany. It is apparent that though Flemish-Dutch influence is predominant, German tradition is also important. This is precisely in keeping with the wider spiritual and cultural movements of the age, when a great mass of devotional and moralizing literature of Flemish-Dutch provenance appeared in north Germany, while at the same time the influence of Cologne, as a great ecclesiastical centre, extended far into the Low Countries. Such mutual influences were encouraged by the circumstance that neither a political frontier nor any appreciable linguistic barrier existed between the Low

¹ Cf. especially the Bollandist publications: *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina* (Brussels, 1898-9); *Codices hagiographici bruxellenses* (Brussels, 1886-9).

Countries and northern Germany. Standard literary languages of a national character—"Nederlands" on the one side, "Hochdeutsch" on the other—had not yet arisen. All writing was done in the various regional literary dialects, themselves close to the spoken dialects which nearly everywhere merged imperceptibly into one another, thus forming a continuum from Flanders to Pomerania.

It may be said that the legendary tradition concerning St. Barbara has remained relatively consistent as regards the basic notions, which are quite simple. The saint is a fictitious person. Her name does not occur in the original recension of the Hieronymian martyrology, but she was widely revered in both the Eastern and Western Churches by the seventh century. The accounts of her life and passion are all substantially the same and tell how, refusing suitors, she was immured in a tower by her heathen father. She became a Christian and scorned the idols. Accordingly she was tried, horribly tortured, and finally beheaded by her own father, who was consumed by lightning immediately afterwards. The place of the passion varies in the different sources, reflecting local adaptations of a martyrdom about which there is no genuine historicity—association with the much older story of Danaë may be taken for granted,¹ as was noticed by the Bollandist Papebroch (d. 1714).

The history given by Usuard is rather short, but typical of the early martyrologists. We read :

In Tuscia, passio sanctae Barbarae virginis, sub Maximiano imperatore. Haec post diram carceris macerationem et nervorum caesionem ac lampadarum adusionem, mamillarumque praecisionem, atque aliorum tormentorum cruciationem, ad extremum gladio data, martyrium consummavit.²

It will be noticed that the martyrologist deals chiefly with the sensational torments ; this trait occurs as an integral part of the legend at all stages.

By the time we reach the *Legenda Aurea* we find the characteristic details in full. Jacobus locates the martyrdom in Nicomedia. The father is a nobleman, Dioscorus, who shuts Barbara up in a tower specially built for her. Barbara doubts

¹ Cf. A. Wirth, *Danaë in den christlichen Legenden* (1892).

² Migne, *Patrologia latina*, CXXIV, col. 807.

the value of idol-worship, and meditates on the Christian faith. Next she corresponds with Origen, who sends the priest Valentinus to baptize her, after which she commands workmen to make three windows in the tower. Her father now returns from a long journey, and, curious about the three windows, is told by his daughter that she has become a Christian. The incensed father draws his sword, but the intended victim vanishes through the wall and escapes onto a mountain. Two shepherds see her and one of them reveals to Dioscorus where Barbara is hiding. For this treachery he is turned into a marble statue and his sheep into grasshoppers—at this point the texts often add a touching note in brackets: *hoc apocryphum est!* The tortures are elaborated. In prison her wounds are miraculously healed and Christ clothes her naked body with a white raiment. Condemned to death, she cheerfully hastens to the place of execution. Just before her father strikes the blow, she hears a voice from heaven granting her prayer that she might intercede for the dying in times to come.

A Dutch or German translation of the Barbara legend according to the *Legenda Aurea* runs to about 3,000 words; some of the expanded texts of the fifteenth century, however, are quite ten times as long. In these versions we find the saint provided with a pedigree which connects her both with the royal house of David and with the royal house of Bohemia. This remarkable union owed its origin to the actions of Titus and Vespasian who "destroyed Jerusalem to avenge the holy blood of Christ". Seeing that the Jews had sold one man, Christ, for thirty pence, the victors now offer thirty Jews for sale for one penny. Among their customers was the king of Bohemia, and in his lot was his future bride, the lovely Esther. Barbara herself is described as of surpassing beauty, filled with grace and wisdom far beyond her tender age of thirteen or so. Her views on idolatry are contained in a series of arguments and she expounds the mystery of the Trinity. Her dealings with Origen are treated at length, and their correspondence is reproduced *in extenso*, the "works" of Origen being cited chapter and verse as authority for various of the facts given. When finally Barbara becomes a convert to Christianity, angels are sent to greet her and John the Baptist

comes in person to baptize her. Then Christ himself appears as a youth and espouses her, leaving a girdle of gold. The latter half of the legend deals largely with Barbara before her accusers. Her defiant words are quoted. But the judge's invariable reaction to her theological arguments is to order yet more sadistic tortures, all of which are described in revolting detail. Her last prayer, in which she begs to be allowed to assist the dying, is reported *verbatim*, likewise the heavenly assent. She was martyred on 4 December 267, aged 13 or 15. Her blood-stains on the rocks can be seen today, as can also the marks of the fire which burnt the ground as it consumed her father, when it left of him but a few ashes which a storm wind at once blew into hell.

Such were the proportions the Barbara legend reached by the end of the Middle Ages, after which it ceased to grow. It is, however, necessary to state that the legend was modified at various points in the mystery plays which had for their theme the passion of the saint and which were in vogue at the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of modern times. Such Barbara mysteries are known to have been performed in both Dutch¹ and German,² but they have not survived. It seems that her passion was more successfully dramatized in France, for two French Barbara mysteries have been preserved, one in manuscript,³ the other in an early print, which was reprinted no less than ten times between 1520 and 1602.⁴ A Breton print of 1557 (reprinted 1647)⁵ is the third known dramatic version. These three anonymous dramas are, like the prose accounts, elaborations of the story found in the *Legenda Aurea*. They are independent of each other, and contain matter not found in the prose texts. The French print, for instance, heightens the dramatic tension with a scene in which the mother implores Barbara to submit

¹ F. Prins, "Het oudste Tooneel te Antwerpen", in *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Konink. Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde* (1933), pp. 865-72.

² A. Rapp, *Studien über den Zusammenhang des geistlichen Theaters mit der bildenden Kunst des ausgehenden Mittelalters* (1936), p. 41.

³ Detailed description in M. Brandenburg, *Mystère de S. Barbe* (1907).

⁴ P. Seefeldt, *Mystère français de S. Barbe en deux journées* (1908), with reprint of oldest text.

⁵ E. Ernault, *Mystère de S. Barbe, tragédie bretonne* (1887), with Breton text and French translation.

to her father and worship the pagan gods, prominent among whom is Mohamet. Later, a courtesan is introduced, whose flippancy and worldliness are a foil to the saintly behaviour of the heroine. In all the dramatized versions the torments are prolonged with fiendish barbarity, and without going into the question of whether the audiences credited even the most robust human frame with the strength to survive such treatment, it seems clear that they, like the readers of the prose versions, somehow called for it.¹

We must not find fault with the scribes and preachers who, bit by bit, added to the legend throughout the ages. Accounts of saints' lives have from the earliest times borne the stamp of the imaginative, the fantastical, the poetic ; they belong to the living mythology of Christianity. The church may have been despotic in matters of doctrine and dogma, but it recommended to the attention of all the products of a mythologizing process which continued, sometimes with official approval, sometimes without, but which continued nevertheless, an ever-growing garland surrounding and colouring the central creed. In this mythologizing process the saints were the chief personalities.

It will be noticed that in the account of the life and passion there are no traces of special Flemish, Dutch or Low German material. There is, however, a tradition preserved in Latin manuscripts of the fifteenth century that the saint's head was brought to Pomerania and Prussia.² The contents of several of the Latin texts associated in the documents with the account of this translation are well-known in the vernacular sources, but these latter make no mention of the translation. Linguistic analysis proves that none of the vernacular texts could have been composed east of the Rhenish area ; conceivably then the story about the head in Pomerania and Prussia was local boasting only, not supported in other districts, which would explain its absence from the vernacular tradition under discussion.

¹ The taste for sadistic extravagancies of this kind is similarly attested in the legends of other martyrs, and notably in the free elaborations of the story of the Crucifixion. Cf. F. P. Pickering, *Christi Leiden in einer Vision geschaخت* (1952).

² Selections printed in Toeppen, *Scriptores rerum prussicarum*, ii (1861-74), 397.

In the miracles, on the other hand, the local background has most often some importance. Of the thirty-nine different miracles recorded, about two-thirds give the name of the place where the miracle took place, e.g. Ypres, Brussels, Louvain, Nijmegen, Cologne, or, more vaguely, in Flanders, in Gelderland. Merchants are discovered preparing to sail from St. Botulph's haven (Boston, Lincs.) on Christmas Eve, three abbots are described riding from Frisia to attend an ecclesiastical meeting. Only occasionally are names of persons given, only two people stated to have been assisted by the saint are actually named. In five miracles, the dates of the occurrences are noted, all in the first half of the fifteenth century. Then, in fifteen miracles, the circumstances are shrouded in complete anonymity as to place, persons or time, in the style of a fairy story.

The miracles are chiefly repetitions of the same motive, the assistance given by St. Barbara to her devotees in the hour of death. She miraculously keeps them alive long enough for a priest to come to hear their confessions and perform the last rites. In two cases she appears in a vision to warn of impending death, while in a few miracles she actually saves the lives of her followers, as in the tale of the priest who accidentally rode into a pond and would have drowned had not the saint speedily brought rider and beast to the shore. Prototypes of these miracles may be found among those attributed to the Virgin Mary, the first collections of which date from the twelfth century. These came into existence as a consequence of the increasing devotion being shown to the Virgin; indeed mariolatry gave rise to a veritable surge in devotional fervour and artistic impulses, inspiring some of the noblest productions of the human spirit in literature as in painting. Barbara was less fortunate in her admirers. The Marian miracles are often characterized by genuine poetic feeling, but the Barbara wonders have little of this. Instead, we have a monotonous, prosaic repetition of the fantastical and the crude, as the specimens to follow (chosen also for their brevity) will illustrate. In the same way as the legend can only emphasize the ideal of steadfastness in the face of persecution by multiplying the torments, so the miracles try to convey some idea of the saint's great power by describing a

series of the most grotesque miracles, clearly on the principle of the more grotesque the more effective. To the modern reader the greatest part of these extravagant tales will sound merely gruesome and not at all edifying. But these pious stories had a fair vogue in their day, as the considerable literary remains prove. It is this which gives them their significance, for they, like the legend of the saint herself with all its elaborations, are commonplace specimens of popular sensational religious literature at the close of the Middle Ages.

The kernel of all the Barbara miracles, as of the Marian miracles, is the assumption that, no matter what one's faults, constant devotion to the saint will work salvation. Such devotion may be quite formal, for it can happen that her devotees are thoroughly bad people—one was condemned to death on the wheel for his crimes, another was judicially buried alive for her wickedness—and yet the little prayer they were wont to say in Barbara's honour saved them from hell-fire. And this is the whole point: these miracles were composed to win active support for the cult of the saint, and through it for the Church and the Faith.

Each miracle is in itself an *exemplum*, in fact, such a phrase as *Noch een exempl* or *Een schoen exempl* frequently acts as a title. Sometimes we have the express statement: This miracle was preached in such-and-such a church. Typical in style and treatment is the following miracle from MS. 991 of the Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Darmstadt. The dialect is Lower Rhenish German of the second half of the fifteenth century.

Eyn mirakel

It was eyn ridder, de dese selige joncfrouwe S. Barbara mit groisser devocien ind mynnen eirde ind gedachte des wortz dat David sait: " Lovet den Heren in synen hilgen." Ind hei plach, zo yren love, den avent yrre passien zo vasten ind den dach zo vieren, ind dat wart eme al wail geloynt, want da en blyvet als Salmon sait: " Geyn goit ungeloynt, ind de ere de men den hilgen deit, de deit men Gode ". Do desen ridder op eyn tzyt synne mechtige viande verwilgen woilden, do veyngen sy in ind

onthoifden in. Ind syn pert, da hei op gesessen hadde, dat quam zo hois besprenget mit den blode. Ind syn gesynde verwonderde ind worden ververrt, do si dat sagen, ind geyngen zo den preister, umme raet zo nemen. Ind zo hant geyngen sy haistlichen zosamen zo der stat, daer des ridders licham doit lach. Ind der preister droch mit eme dat hilge sacrament ind, do sy quamen zo der stat, vonden sy dat hoift gescheiden van den licham. Do geynck der preister dar nairre, ind dat hoift sprach eme aldus zo : O knecht Gotz, drager des Heren ind des be-holders, cum haistlichen herwartz, want overmits dich mach ich verkrigen gesuntheit van beiden mynschen—dat is der selen ind des lichams. Mer der preister wart ververrt ind waynde of it eyn scheine were. Ind en dorste neit nairre gayn. Do sprach dat hoift anderwerff : By der genaden Gotz ind S. Barbaren, hulpe !, ind sachte all spechende : Ganck herwart ind voege mich an mynen licham. Ind vur de verdiente van mynre vrouwen S. Barbaren sal ich genesen, in den genen de selicheit is alre mynschen. Ind do der preister de bede vollenbracht hadde, stoint der ridder op, ind eme bleif geyn ayn tzeichen der wonderen. Ind hei vertalte mit waerachtigen worden, we dat de hilge bruit Christi, S. Barbara, eme beschyrmt hadde, vur dat hei sy in groisser devocien ind werdicheit gehat hadde. Ind hadde yren avent gevast ind yren dach geviert. Ind her um hadde sy in behoit, dat hei neit in storven sunder waerachtige bichte ind ontfangen dat hilge sacrament, op dat hei na den dode gebruchen moichte der ewiger selicheit. Do der ridder dit gesacht hadde, bichte hei den preister ind ontfeynck dat hilge sacrament. Ind do de orlage alsus gesoyn ind gevredet was, do ruste dei in vreden in den heren overmits der verdienten der seliger mertelerschen Sante Barbaren.

(A knight's head is cut off by enemies and the blood-stained horse returns home riderless. Relatives set out with a priest and find the head alive. The head explains that St. Barbara has interceded so that her faithful follower should be able to make his last confession and receive the necessary comfort of the viaticum.)

There are several cases of heads speaking in this way, including three versions of the story of the heathen who was a devotee of the saint. Many years after death his grave is

opened, and the head, which alone has not decayed, calls for the last rites. Other miracles tell of drowned men, washed up from the sea, who lie buried in the sand until people come near enough to hear them calling for a priest. And, like all the other examples, the drowned men explain that they have been miraculously spared to receive the last sacrament through the good offices of St. Barbara to whom they had always shown particular devotion. In a similar vein we hear of soldiers who, though mortally wounded in battle, cannot die until a priest has visited them with the last sacrament. As though all this were not enough, we have two miracles which know of even more lurid achievements to the credit of the saint. The first tells how a priest heard a pitiful voice emanating from a heap of bones which had been cast up by the sea. Through the intervention of the saint, the soul could remain with the bones until they had spoken a last confession. The second recounts how a drunkard perished when his house burnt down. A year later, his heirs were clearing the site when they heard a voice beneath the rubble. Digging further, they came across the sole surviving bit of the drunkard—his tongue, which called for absolution. The priest laid the sacramental wafer upon the tongue, which immediately crumbled to dust. Then there is the miracle of the devout madman who ran himself through with a long knife so that the point stuck out of his back. He walked about in this condition and his wife fainted when she saw him, but the priest feared to grant absolution to a man who had laid violent hands upon himself. The prince of the province examined the matter, then all heard that St. Barbara was miraculously keeping him alive. A conversation between the prince and the priest is quoted, in which the latter agreed that it would be permissible to perform the last rites and release the soul, as it was clear that the man would not otherwise be able to die. Equally bizarre is the case of the master who struck his servant with his sword, but to no effect, repeated blows only bending the sword into sickle shape. The invulnerable servant explained that he was protected by St. Barbara. And so the master forgave him, but, still incredulous, he handed the sword to an executioner. To the wonder of all, the sword which had been unable as much as to

mark the servant struck off the head of the next condemned man at one stroke.

The great majority of the miracles recorded are fantasies of this type. It is rare that Barbara intervenes outside her own province, but two of these cases are interesting and I quote them in full. In the first she inspires an artist who was painting the scene in her legend where the sheep turn into grasshoppers; the second strikes a comminatory note, the blasphemer is visited with sudden death.

From MS. G.V. 1 of the Staatsarchiv, Düsseldorf. Dutch-German border dialect, written in 1450 :

Eyn myrakel

Het was een guet maelre ende was een meester van synen werck. Ende solde op een tyt maelen die historie der saliger maget ende martelaersche XPI Barbaren. Ende doe hi quam totter steden, dat des heerden scapen worden sprynkelen, doe en wiste hi niet, woe die forme der beestekens waren, ende it was in der tyt, dat men se nerghent vinden en conde. Doe bughede die maelre oetmoedeliken syn knyen ende bat der edelre bruyt XPI Barbaren, dat sy gewerdigen wolde, hem die forme der beesten te toenen. Ende doe hi dat bat, quam daer rechte vort een sprynkelken sprynghen voer hem. Ende hi besach se wael ende maercte der forme ende sloet se in een busse. Ende doe maelde hi die historie vort, also dat een yeghelyc, die die historie sach, dochte, dat die spryncken levendich waren, die hi ghemaelt hadde. Ende doe die maelre daer nae weder ginc totter busse, do vant hi daer niet in, al was dat die busse toe gesloten was.

(The painter, not remembering what grasshoppers looked like, prayed to Barbara. A grasshopper appeared and the painter painted it so well that it looked alive on the canvas. The grasshopper was then put into a box. Later this was opened, but the creature had vanished.)

From Dutch MS. 9, John Rylands Library, Manchester. Beginning of sixteenth century :

Noch een schoen mirakel

In der stadt van Kolen opten dach der passien deser heyligher joncfrouwen Sinte Berbaren soe hielte men hoechtyt ende feest van haerder heyligher passien ende ghedenckenisse in der Minder-Bruederen-Kercke, alsoe dat daer veel menschen quamen, den dienst Gods ende misse te hoeren ende to offeren. Onder welcke quam een quaet rabbant, die sprack ende sede tot den volck, het waer veel beter ende orberlyken, dat ghy my desen offer gaeft dan uwer heyligher Berbaren, want die miraculen, die men van haer seet, syn alsoe waer als ic hier doot ligghen. Als hy dese woerden hadde ghesproken, terstont sonder merren soe voer hem syn baseleer, die hy hanghende hadde aen syn syde, overmidts die wraeke Gods in syn hert, ende hy viel neder ter erden ende was doot. Aldus heeft onse heere nae synre ontfermherticheyt synre alre heylichster bruyt Sinte Barbara gheert ende die blasphemie, die daer ghedaen was, ghevroken.

(A wicked vagabond mocked the congregation gathered to celebrate St. Barbara's day, saying that it would be more to the point to give him the offerings rather than St. Barbara, whose miracles were as true as though he were lying dead. Whereupon the knife hanging by his side pierced his heart and he fell down dead. Thus did God punish his blasphemy and vindicate the saint.)

I conclude with a summary of the contents of one of the two *exempla* which mention the appearance of St. Barbara in a vision, because these provide, one may fairly say, the only relief from the mass of crudities contained in this miracle literature. I choose the more striking of the two, in which we see a young man as the saint's "bridegroom", a trait often found in the Marian collections. Barbara's jealousy and his love for her cause him to spurn a human bride. The presence of St. Catherine as Barbara's friend reminds us that this saint is frequently depicted alongside St. Barbara in art and their legends are often found together.¹ The story is as follows :

A young man had been accustomed to show great devotion to St. Barbara. But the devil plotted to destroy the young

¹ Cf. L. Busse, *Die Legende der Hl. Dorothea im deutschen Mittelalter* (1930).

man's affection for her and he influenced friends and relatives to persuade the young man to take a wife "honorable and rich after the way of the world" that he might hope to have an heir to his great properties. The young man consented. Then one night he saw in a vision fair maidens walking in a marvellous orchard. One of them was beautiful beyond description, but she turned away from him with a gesture of anger. Another maiden standing near asked her the reason. She replied: That young man served me faithfully for many years, but now he has forgotten me, and she told how, through the intrigues of the devil, he was soon to wed an earthly bride. Having heard this, the maiden said she would gladly mediate between them. She went up to the young man. She told him that all the maidens he saw were celestial beings and that she was Catherine, a friend of Barbara's, who was angry with him for having neglected her in favour of another. Catherine promised to help him to a reconciliation if he so wished. The young man was deeply moved and said he would gladly forgo anything that was displeasing to Barbara. So Catherine led him by the hand to her and spoke on his behalf. Then Barbara turned sweetly to him and admitted him again to her favour. She said that he must prepare himself, for he would shortly die.

At this the young man awoke and understood that he had seen a true vision from God. He at once summoned his friends and relatives and annulled his consent to marry. Then he fell very ill. He had a priest called, from whom he partook of the holy sacraments of the church and after that his spirit departed to enjoy through all eternity the companionship of his heavenly bride.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PROBLEMS IN MODERN DRAMA¹

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IT has become common to view drama in the post-Ibsen period as falling into two broad categories. On the one hand there was a strong and persistent tradition of the *Doll's House* type of play, called for convenience "social problem plays", and on the other a number of diverse styles of drama that represent counter-realism; plays in verse, expressionism, formalistic styles as in Yeats's plays, revivals of myths, fantastic drama, surrealism, plays of Freudian psychology, Cocteau-ish *poésie de théâtre*, and so on, all of which, however different from each other, have in common that they turn away both from social problems and from the dramatic style associated with them. They do not necessarily, however, renounce realism for "romance", or for something "poetic" in the escapist sense. Neither are the themes they treat always without relevance to the social situation. The point is that the social situation changed radically in the decade of World War I, making social problem drama of the older kind and its particular mould of realism out of date. But the antiquated forms had no monopoly of all realism or all social problems. The new forms, superficially judged to be anti-realistic, often represent in fact an artistic adjustment to a new social situation. In Georg Kaiser, in Cocteau, in Giraudoux, in Eliot, there can be no question of evasion of reality, or of the contemporary world, or of society. Their works depict these things and express their feelings about them. They were strange at first only because the realities shown had not yet been perceived by others. The world of *A Doll's House* and plays like it was real to Ibsen; it was the world he experienced. But it was no longer real in 1918 to Kaiser, for whom the middle-class

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 10th of December 1952.

home, with a certain set of private beliefs and social attitudes, had been pushed out of the centre of the picture to give place to the new reality of highly technical and industrial social organization. In order to show this he devised his expressionistic form which presents not private lives and homes but the skeletal structure of a whole society which in that contemporary situation was more real than the surfaces of bourgeois life. In a similar way Eliot's plays contain a view and a criticism of a given society. They are determined by a religious interpretation, which means that the judgement is one of several possible ones. But the interpretation is neither fanciful nor wilful ; it does refer to a social reality. The argument applies also to the work of Giraudoux which to a superficial glance seems to seek refuge in "myths" in order to say something "universal" about life, transcending the localized contemporary situation, but it is in fact profoundly rooted in that situation.

There are some plays that deal, in the strictest sense, with "social problems". Examples are better found in Shaw, perhaps, than anywhere else. *Widowers' Houses* is one. It deals with a problem arising directly from the economic organization of society. Many more plays, whilst not exactly formulating a social problem, treat a social theme in the sense that a comment on society is implicit in their picture. *The Cherry Orchard* comes under this head. The plays of Ibsen that most influenced the social problem type may themselves in fact be grouped more comfortably under this general head than as examples of purely *social* problems. It is more accurate to say of them that they focus moral problems having social implications. For the crux of the matter nearly always is not so much a specific "social problem" as the situation of the individual in relation to the society he lives in. Ibsen attacks beliefs and the people—persons, human beings—who hold them. If institutions or social customs crack under his criticism it is because the antecedent beliefs on which they rest show up as hollow. This subtlety of moral relationships between individual beliefs and social practices is the very fibre of Ibsen's drama.

It is this relationship between an individual's world and a social world that I want to analyse in connection with a few plays

of this century. To isolate a body of plays as social problem drama is not enough in view of the omnipresence of the social theme in various forms. For the larger perspective shows a continuous process of social change and a continuing pre-occupation with it in the drama. In that process the emphasis is sometimes on the person and sometimes on society, but always both are involved. The plays I shall use to illustrate the argument are Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, Kaiser's *Gas*, Giraudoux' *La Guerre de Troie n'aura pas lieu*, and Eliot's *The Family Reunion*.

A Doll's House and plays close to it, like *Ghosts*, *Pillars of Society*, *The Wild Duck*, and others, present a cumulative picture of society and it is one illumined by angry lights. Ibsen's imagination is always haunted by a great ideal of what man might be if he could realize his humanity to perfection. This ideal, dominated to a large extent by the romantic spirit inherited from the late eighteenth century, implied a number of qualities such as freedom, integrity, joyous creativeness, natural innocence and dignity, the sense of right, that are in fact rarely or never found together but have nevertheless great power and suggestiveness as a composite ideal. Ibsen knew too much about human nature to make the mistake of trying to portray his ideal directly in idealized characters; but he most certainly and ruthlessly measured people against his nostalgic moral aspiration and only late in his life and work did he soften his judgements and begin to inculcate a doctrine of charity. His feelings about the ideal are focused in characters who, although portrayed convincingly as real people, that is, human beings both frail and strong, reflect his own aspiration and undergo an illumination; such are Nora and Mrs. Alving. His feelings of moral despair, on the other hand, are reflected in his picture of a corrupt society; and indeed in these plays the insistence on corruption is so emphatic that one feels Ibsen wanted to give physical reality to the moral stench and assail his audience—the society he attacked—with it. In *A Doll's House* Dr. Rank, embittered by his disease, fulminates against the rottenness lying just beneath the surface in nearly every family, whilst physical horror is exploited to the utmost in *Ghosts*.

Ibsen's dramatic pattern combines incisive moral analysis with an expressive unburdening of the feelings. To achieve the former he uses his principal character as a pivot. Nora Helmer has been, before the beginnings of her crisis, part of the *milieu* which arouses Ibsen's indignation ; she then emerges from it through a subtle development of her self-hood and awareness of herself in relation to others, particularly her husband ; until finally Ibsen has focused in her protestations his own analysis of what society calls "marriage" and "love".

The particulars of Nora's situation may have lost most of their power to move us, since the relations between men and women both in and outside marriage have changed so much. To appreciate the sheer dramatic effect of her decision to leave home, which rested on the horror of the audience at the mere thought of such a step, we have to recall the social ostracism incurred by a woman who took it in an age when the professions were not open to women. This effect has been lost. On the other hand we can still hear, and possibly with keener ears, the lapidary note in the great discussion scene with which the play reaches its climax and in which Nora discloses herself as the type of the protestant rebel.

Nora. . . . I can no longer content myself with what most people say, or with what is found in books. I must think things over for myself and get to understand them.

Helmer. Can you not understand your place in your own home ? Have you not a reliable guide in such matters as that ?—have you no religion ?

Nora. I am afraid, Torvald, I do not exactly know what religion is.

Helmer. What are you saying ?

Nora. I know nothing but what the clergyman said, when I went to be confirmed. He told us that religion was this, and that, and the other. When I am away from all this, and am alone, I will look into that matter too. I will see if what the clergyman said is true, or at all events if it is true for me.

When Helmer accuses her further of having no moral sense she answers in the same vein of simple honesty, admitting ignorance but expressing willingness to work the problem out for herself. She admits Helmer's charge that she doesn't understand the conditions of the world in which she lives :

Nora. No, I don't. But now I am going to try. I am going to see if I can make out who is right, the world or I.

Helmer's answer to this : " You are ill, Nora ; you are delirious ;

I almost think you are out of your mind ", is the comment of those who live in darkness.

The history of prophets and poets can show more exalted examples of spiritual birth or re-birth. Yet however modest the person and circumstances of Ibsen's obscure middle-class young wife, she assumes heroic stature in this scene. Step by step, with simplicity and logic, she strips every pretence from her life, her marriage, and her love. But this she does in the spirit of affirmation, not of destruction ; and so a great dramatic and moral exhilaration radiates from her discovery of her self and her responsibility. To her age she appeared as the representative of all womanhood about to engage in a struggle for emancipation. But Ibsen has put himself into her actions and words. Through the local particulars of dress and period in his play we see that Nora's case is that of man altogether, liberating himself from falsehood in order to start afresh and work out his salvation with gods and men.

It is fatally easy to assimilate Ibsen to the sociological thought of the later nineteenth century. Since his plays do contain a criticism of "society" they seem to fall pat into a broad picture of social change. But Ibsen as far as beliefs are concerned is situated before the age of "economic and social" man. Society to Ibsen is not a sociological conception but a moral one. It is the herd with its system of subterfuges for protecting its weaknesses and selfishness. His rebels are made to hold out against this herd and judge it. There is in his picture certainly a sense of social pressures, including economic ones. Nora's crisis is precipitated partly by her economic dependence which led her to dishonest ways of procuring money. But Ibsen's world is innocent of the play of "social", i.e. extra-individual, forces as that idea has since his time been understood. His people are not the products of such forces. They are weak, cowardly, selfish, gregarious, but they are individuals with a potential will of their own. Ibsen's indignation is not aroused by the faulty organization of society—for that we have to look to Shaw—but by men defacing their own nature with those grimaces of beasts that Rubek, in *When We Dead Awaken*, portrayed in his sculpture. Man is here still conceived in the traditional image

of a person with a moral sense, with free will, with the knowledge of good and evil—even though he makes mistakes—and with complete responsibility. In Ibsen's world the individual, the private person, makes the decisions that matter, social customs and institutions flowing from them. Ibsen's idea of man is that he stands alone and makes his decision. Because of this his drama, although it embraces criticism of "society", is primarily a *critique of morality* pivoted on faith in the realization of a human ideal in the *frée* individual.

For a drama that provides a criticism of society, in a stricter sense of the term, we may turn to Georg Kaiser's *Gas*. The people of this play, with one exception, exist only in functional relation to an organized mass, their salient characteristic being that they have lost their individual independence, both in character and actions.

Gas is not a great play; it suffers from stridency and over-emphatic style, and the feeling about "humanity" that makes it a violent rhetorical protest against certain tendencies in modern society remains crude and sentimental. Yet it is a very remarkable play because, using a bold and incisive method for the theatre, it projected an original vision of the society that was fast developing within the liberal bourgeois framework which was still what the surface showed. In the general development of this century the date of the play—1918—has significance as marking the end of World War I and therewith of the first stage of the transition from the liberal capitalist society of the nineteenth century to the socialized states and planned centralized societies of the following era. Kaiser's theme is the de-humanizing influence of technocratic social organization. His method is to portray such a society, bring catastrophe upon it from one of its own elements, and use a main character as a foil to point his moral. His picture shows a factory community, producing the most up-to-date form of energy, not only run with maximum scientific efficiency but also completely socialized, since its head, the Billionaire's Son, has renounced his wealth for the sake of the new ideal, by which the profits are shared. In this perfectly, even idyllically, arranged life an explosion occurs which by all the laws of science should not. Kaiser makes great play

with the symbolic "formula" that represents the limit of scientific exactitude and yet still leaves something to the unexplainable and uncontrollable; so that there is a dangerous flaw not only in the formula but in the nature of the society which is built on the idea behind it. The Billionaire's Son learns his lesson from the destruction and suffering and turns away from a society and a philosophy that are at the mercy of such a catastrophe. If the factory with its formulae and machines is liable to such breakdown why be enslaved to it? He recovers for himself the human sense of values of the pre-technological life and, finding a new ideal for his philanthropy, imagines a farming community in which men can be natural and human again. This vapid return-to-nature or agrarian philosophy is as weak as the picture of the futuristic worker-technician-factory culture is incisive.

This gospel he tries to preach to his factory-workers, technicians, his chief Engineer, and industrialists; the play is a sequence of scenes in which he implores them to see the light. But no one does. The workers want their work back; they demand only the dismissal of the Engineer responsible for the breakdown to appease their sense of oppression and loss. The Engineer is also in opposition, deriving his particular form of stubbornness from professional pride. The industrialists have only one idea, which is to get the "gas" factory re-started so that their own concerns have power again. All these classes of men are united in their opposition to the Billionaire's Son because they are no longer conscious of any meaning in themselves except as parts of a machine and in their world all society has become a machine. Its denizens live wholly under the technocratic compulsion that enslaves every class of its servants. Their obtuseness and inflexibility are the signs of servitude. They have lost the conception of their own nature as something they might still have; they cannot think themselves out of their situation; they are all engaged in a constrained misdirection of their natural feelings, ignorant of how their humanity has already slipped beyond their reach.

Toller was to say in connection with his own technique that you can see men as "realistic human beings" but you

can also see the same men, in a flash of vision, as puppets, which move mechanically in response to external direction. The people in Kaiser's picture of society are puppets in this sense, with their meaning withdrawn from their human-ness and concentrated in their function, for which one part of them may be alone of significance, their hand, or eye, for instance. In a sullen way these people are indeed aware that they are distortions ; but great pathos (in spite of the over-emphasis) derives from their inability to revolt and liberate themselves ; so long as someone is " punished " for the explosion they are satisfied to let the process start again :

Mädchen. Von meinem Bruder sage ich das !—Ich wusste nicht, dass ich einen Bruder hatte. Ein Mensch ging morgens aus dem Hause und kam abends—und schlief. Oder er ging abends weg und war morgens zurück—und schlief !—Eine Hand war gross—die andere klein. Die grosse Hand schlief nicht. Die stiess in einer Bewegung hin und her—Tag und Nacht. Diese Hand war der Mensch !—Wo blieb mein Bruder ? Der früher neben mir spielte—und Sand mit seinen beiden Händen baute ?—In Arbeit stürzte er. Die brauchte nur die eine Hand von ihm . . . Da frass die Explosion auch die Hand. Da hatte mein Bruder das Letzte gegeben !—Ist es zu wenig ?—Hatte mein Bruder gefeilscht um den Preis, als man die Hand von ihm für den Hebel brauchte ? Streifte er nicht willig den Bruder ab—and verschrumpfte in die zählende Hand ?—Zahlte er nicht zuletzt die Hand noch ?—Ist die Bezahlung zu schlecht—um den Ingenieur zu heischen ?—Mein Bruder ist meine Stimme—: arbeitet nicht—ehe der Ingenieur nicht vom Werk ist !—Arbeitet nicht—meines Bruders Stimme ist es ! !

One realizes at this point that Kaiser has taken several steps beyond the simple protests at the misery of underpaid workers, uninteresting factory jobs, and slums, consequent on the industrial revolution. These were familiar to the later nineteenth century, both in literature and sociological writing. In drama the humanitarian protest at social misery is well seen in Hauptmann's *Die Weber*. Kaiser's protest is not against misery of that kind, held in abhorrence as an affront to human beings. His socialized world has removed those things. He protests against the loss of human status. The shrill nostalgia of the Billionaire's Son for " den Menschen " would not be so excessive if it were a case simply of suffering, for that brings human qualities and virtues into play. He fights his battle against men who have lost the knowledge of what man is. They are morally destitute

because the private world is gone. A wholly public world engulfs the human one. Every person is chained to a function in a closely articulated mechanism ; and when human creatures exist as no more than a function within a whole, the whole itself is not human.

The nature of Kaiser's vision of society in this play has not to my knowledge been explicitly related to the conditions of 1917-18 in Germany, when, under the stress of a war no longer offensive but desperately defensive, the country was converted into a military machine. Here one might seek an embryonic model of what we have since called the totalitarian society, and we remember too that World War II made "total war" and "total mobilization" the rule everywhere. If *Gas* is based on German society of 1917-18, as I think it is, it gives, however "expressionistic" in method, a vision of reality. Clearly a process of generalization is involved ; but the play presents an image of the skeletal structure of a certain kind of society. Although simplified, it is logical and analytically true. And on this truth to something real rests its power, because that provides some justification for an emotional atmosphere so intense as to border on hysteria. The pessimism is strong ; and with reason, when the end of the individual and his moral independence is involved.

At the side of this, Ibsen looks very nineteenth century. Great changes have occurred. If, as we said, "society" for Ibsen was the herd with its fears and stupidities, but still a human herd, here in Kaiser it is the product of economic and industrial forces which transcend the individual will. His drama is in consequence a *critique of society*, or social structure, in the twentieth century sociological meaning of the words. His picture, with its un-named persons representing classes or functions, its elimination of the private man and his private life (the daughter and her officer husband who runs into debt and commits suicide are the faintest echoes of "bourgeois" life), its sharp stylizations streamlining the features of the technocratic culture, and its clipped, pounding verbal style, shows an adjustment of dramatic form not only to some extraneous principle of style or subjective expression but to the new social realities.

It is a noticeable feature of *Gas* that the nature and quality of *Menschentum* remain obscure. Kaiser's feeling is all concentrated in his protest, in the name of something referred to as humanity, against its elimination. Hence on the one hand we have a stark, metallic, glinting picture of the system criticized, and on the other an explosion of rebellious sentiment. The former we see to be analytically correct; the indignation and pity we take as a sign of good faith. But we are not given to feel in our minds or senses some quality of living, or thought, or sensibility, or character, recognizable as belonging to what we mean in an ideal sense by "humanity". In short, the play, although a strained expression of human resentment and nostalgia, contains no person, or situation, or words that vibrate, if only for a moment, with the ideal so constantly evoked in name.

Giraudoux' dramatic work, which belongs to the years 1928 to 1945, possesses the quality absent in Kaiser. It is saturated with the indefinable essence of humanity, understood as a delicate sense of the situation of human beings, living under the shadow of Fate, of gods and devils, amidst men and women of incredible complexity of character and given particularly to bellicosity, but also aspiring to happiness and goodness in a way that touches even those who do not know very much about such things. In one sense the dramatic pattern of a central focus-character in opposition to others, seen in both Ibsen and Kaiser, repeats itself in Giraudoux; it is by now conventional to discuss his "élues", as they are called. But such characters in Giraudoux do not incorporate in themselves a single idea of "the human person", as so many of Ibsen's, different as they are, represent the struggle for the true self. They are drawn, it is true, with psychological art and are real enough with their motives and emotions to fit into a story. But they are above all the vehicles of certain qualities admired by the ethical sensitiveness of humanity whose spokesman Giraudoux makes himself. Judith, with her great love, Électre with her uncompromising sense of justice, Alcmène, innocent, chaste, and faithful, Hector with his sense of brotherhood, La Folle with her unerring instinct for simple and good people—all of them are very human, and yet a little more

than human, endowed by the abstracting imagination with an eloquence of person and function that derives not from themselves but from the human faith of their creator.

The use of a myth provides the perfect opportunity for setting such quasi-real persons in motion and making them the meeting-point for generalized ideals and the personal forms in which everything human has to appear. Hector in *La Guerre de Troie n'aura pas lieu* is such a person. In him and his attempt to prevent a further outbreak of war, struggling first with the established habits and beliefs of his family and fellow Trojans, then with the wilful bellicosity of Demokos and the war-mongers, and finally with Destiny, there is concentrated the immense nostalgia for peace which flooded the hearts of Europeans in the 'thirties of this century. At that time the success of Fascism and National-socialism represented a counter-blow to all the post-1918 endeavours to organize an international society. The outstanding event of the 'twenties was the Treaty of Locarno ; the symbolic act of hope was the institution of the League of Nations. It was in the late 'twenties that the " war books ", mostly of pacifist intentions and headed by Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front*, burst on to the literary scene, focusing general feelings on the subject in a generation that had lived through the horrors of modern warfare from 1914 to 1918. The outstanding events of the 'thirties, on the other hand, were the victory of the National-socialists in 1933, the Abyssinian War, the Spanish Civil War, and the various unilateral acts of Hitler's foreign policy. It was the age of the " threat of war " and of paralysed attempts to evade it. But the threat of war was simply the symptom of the problem as to how international relations should be organized, by federation of free peoples or centralization under a predominant power. The national problem of socialization here reached its international form, and the difference, both in time and theme, between Kaiser and Giraudoux reflects this logical development of the modern situation. For the vital theme now concerns the relations between the different branches of human society. What does man, within the brotherhood and unity of the human race, owe to man and to himself ? The force of Giraudoux' play lies in the simplicity of feeling over the central issue ; its delicacy,

however, in the way the public theme is treated in connection with the complex passions of men and the play of fatality.

It would be profitable to examine in detail Giraudoux' adroitness of method in touching, through his persons and their discussions, on virtually all the factors that agitated people's feelings on this problem at the time. The brilliant satire on the procedures of international jurists in the Busiris passage may be adduced as an example. But we must be content to define briefly Giraudoux' method in contrast to that of Ibsen and Kaiser. The new pattern shows a public theme—in this play, peace and brotherhood in all their reasonableness—joined to a generalized ethical sensitiveness as to what constitutes "humanity". The problem is not in any sense a private one, as Nora Helmer's was; it concerns nations and humanity as a whole. The peculiar fictitiousness of Hector as a mythical character emphasizes this by contrast with the contemporary substantiality of Nora. Yet on the other hand it is not only a social question, as in *Gas*; for the distinguishing feature of Giraudoux' plays is a refinement of ethical feeling that only flourishes in persons as part of their essential individual character and human form, and can never inhere in impersonal "social" actions. And this is expressed in the fact that Hector, like other Giraudoux characters, in spite of being so obvious a device, assumes nevertheless the form of a person.

We perceive now that Giraudoux, using a framework taken from classical mythology, achieved a brilliant invention of method. His subject and emotions were absolutely contemporary, but of a kind that could not possibly have been treated realistically—you can only put modern politics and diplomacy into a play as caricature, as Shaw did in *Geneva*. Giraudoux extracts the myth from its own historico-religious context, fills the persons with contemporary public meanings, and thus, creating a new form that is half myth, half allegory, makes it do service again, giving an aristocratic aesthetic quality to what might otherwise not have risen above propaganda or dull moralizing. Such is the character not only of *La Guerre de Troie n'aura pas lieu* but of other plays of this author. They avoid the particular reality of historical or contemporary events, substituting a

quasi-real world, but only in order to clarify issues of contemporary urgency.

The drama of Giraudoux thus appears as a *critique of humanity*; that is, of the human kind. In a succession of plays he meditates, amidst all the fantasy, caprice, and wit of his theatrical style, on general ideals such as pity, charity, justice, loyalty, faith, and so on, which together constitute humanity understood as the characteristic form of existence separating man from the rest of creation. Ibsen's characters seek self in order to be real. The people in *Gas* are emasculated of both self and humanity. Giraudoux explores in his mythical fictions the nature of human quality and its place in the modern world. He is sensitive, not laboured; sceptical and bewildered, but not without hope, and in no way a clamant castigator of morals. At the same time as his ethical idealism is diffused through his plays, so also is a sense of man's precarious situation, since he lives subject to chance and fatality. From these two things—the humanity expressed in ideals, and that witnessed in helplessness—emanates the tragic pathos of his work.

If a play like *Gas* leaves one with a feeling of something lost or abandoned, the work of Giraudoux gives the impression of embarrassment. Kaiser protests against a world in which humanity is eliminated; Giraudoux, gentle and civilized, is saddened by one in which humanity cannot make its values effective. Kaiser's persons are marionettes, those of Giraudoux fictions of the moral conscience battling against powers they cannot cope with or do not understand, like Judith with God and the priests, Alcmène with Jupiter, or Hector with the spirit of war. As individuals they find themselves involved in a public situation without being able to establish a harmonious relationship with it. The decisions their own virtues require for themselves are contravened by incalculable factors operating apart from individuals and their values, but not apart from human life. Thus the world of private values is not adjusted to the public situation, yet the latter is all-important. Giraudoux reflects with great accuracy what is a dominant feature of the modern situation as experienced by many people: the sense of good and noble qualities lives on in natural and perhaps philosophically ungrounded forms, whilst the dog-

matic moral legislation that alone secures an adjustment of public and private forms is lacking.

One of the main impressions left by his work is of an aristocrat of mind and sensibility *commenting* on life. His mythical fictions give the semblance of drama, but they also express a withdrawal from true drama into that kind of dialogue which springs not from separate persons but from a divided self, or one that habitually ruminates on moral intricacies whilst others live by cutting the Gordian knot. The sense of the real in Giraudoux comes entirely from the author's personal voice. It is him, not "life", that we feel everywhere. His persons, like his fantasy and wit ceaselessly at work, are valid not as poetic intuitions but as vehicles of *his* sensitive meditation. Giraudoux ponders real situations, contemporary and public ones; he himself is real, uttering his thoughts; but his dramatic characters are shadows whose unreality reflects the unreality of the individual's situation in contemporary life—his being encased in a private world of values and victimized by a public world of events. Giraudoux' myths are in one sense a positive assertion of artistic form, in another a symptom of a maladjusted society.

The three authors considered up to this point work without orthodox religion. In that they differ little from most other dramatists of the period. The great exceptions are Hofmannsthal, Claudel, and Eliot, whose work might be expected to throw further light on the problem of private and social worlds. The two former yield less in this respect than Eliot, since their plays are devoted to more exclusively religious feelings and events. It is true that a play like *Das Grosse Welttheater* has a social meaning within its religious imagery; and one like *Le Soulier de Satin* has persons with very real human passions. Yet their action moves towards a moment when the merely human is transfigured with a divine meaning and at such a moment what we call the "social" has little relevance. Eliot, by contrast, observes constantly the social world, the plays extending an analysis begun in the earlier poems. He has himself emphasized that he wanted to portray in his plays people in contemporary circumstances. This no doubt constituted a problem for drama in verse but it was not an accidental or merely ambitious

aim. Eliot has the modern situation deliberately under view, his analysis of it springing from a mind sensitive to the complexity of civilized issues in any modern society and interested in them all. The poet of *The Waste Land* and the *Four Quartets* wrote also *After Strange Gods*, the commentaries of *The Criterion*, and the *Notes towards the Definition of Culture*.

His plays have met with much hostile criticism and yet they have shown an astonishing vigour and power to move audiences, one reason being doubtless that they do succeed in touching modern life at so many points, not only by presenting contemporary people but in the manner of doing so, which shows the characteristic modern awareness of intricacy in psychology, sociology, manners, morals, religion, and culture. Sin, expiation, and martyrdom are in the centre of his picture, ideas disagreeable to a sceptical and scientifically-minded, or merely light-hearted, public. But they are not there as pure religion flung in the face of life. They fascinate and disturb because meaning falls from them on to aspects of modern life on which one might not think religion directly impinged, and in respect of which other current philosophies have notably failed to find meaning. A passage in the *Notes towards the Definition of Culture* provides an illuminating gloss on the characters of *The Family Reunion* (and *The Cocktail Party*) :

The reflection that what we believe is not merely what we formulate and subscribe to, but that behaviour is also belief, and that even the most conscious and developed of us live also at the level on which belief and behaviour cannot be distinguished, is one that may, once we allow our imagination to play upon it, be very disconcerting. It gives an importance to our most trivial pursuits, to the occupation of our every minute, which we cannot contemplate long without the horror of nightmare. When we consider the quality of the integration required for the full cultivation of the spiritual life, we must keep in mind the possibility of grace and the exemplars of sanctity in order not to sink into despair. And when we consider the problem of evangelization, of the development of a Christian society, we have reason to quail. To believe that we are religious people and that other people are without religion is a simplification which approaches distortion. To reflect that from one point of view religion is culture, and from another point of view culture is religion, can be very disturbing (p. 32).

Here we see promulgated a criterion for the quality, not of "humanity", but of the spiritual life, which may be taken to

mean human life irradiated by a transcendent power, every feature of behaviour coming finally under its influence. Against this criterion Eliot measures modern forms of culture. All the persons in *The Family Reunion* represent these forms, according to their character, tastes, gifts, possessions, and education, from the uncles and aunts to Amy and Mary, and then Agatha ; and they are judged against the elected person at the centre, a pattern repeated with variations in *The Cocktail Party*.

We may note in Eliot's work a degree of loathing of life that quite exceeds a realistic acknowledgement of corruption or native wickedness in man, and this no doubt gives rise to a despair that needs redemption and also to nostalgia for sainthood and the scarcely curbed contempt for anything lower than that. Yet such extremes of feeling cannot really impair the main structure of Christian belief nor the criticism of man and society deriving from it. This faith restores decisively to the individual both meaning and responsibility, and removes from the conception of "society" and the "social" the materialistic and secular meanings that have come to predominate. The terms we have used—private and public, even individual and society—cease to be strictly relevant, except as secondary distinctions, since a theological conception is primary. Ibsen's rebellious individual, Giraudoux' aristocratic and sensitive humanity, Kaiser's articulated society, all of which show what can only be a partial view of life and civilization, are here displaced by a conception of greater comprehensiveness. Extending our classification of these plays as critiques of man and society it is easy now to borrow from Eliot's own terms the word that describes his drama in relation to the others we have considered. It is a *critique of culture*.

It does not follow that because culture, in this context, comprehends more and deeper meanings Eliot's dramatic art is superior to that of the other authors here considered, for dramatic power does not depend on a well-ordered philosophy. But the kind of integration of dramatic forms attempted by Eliot in his plays corresponds to the degree of integration envisaged in his idea of true culture. For what he attempts to do is to portray a realistic scene—the family in the country house, the

barrister with wife, mistress, and social circle—through which an underlying mythical pattern diffuses its meanings to the surface ; so that the " real " becomes, without being negated or displaced, transparent, and through it the myth appears as the immanent meaning. In a drama based on such a view both realistic and mythical forms are authentic ; the one is more than a pre-occupation with limited aspects of social reality, and the other more than a modern aesthetic device. The symbolism of Eliot's characters is implicit because the personal form contains the meaning. Similarly, the mythical power inheres in the real human situation, since people like Harry and Celia, unlike figures from past myths, begin as ordinary persons leading ordinary lives and remain human even after the assumption of their distinctive functions. The incorporation of elements from primitive or ancient ritual, though not uniformly successful, is at least relevant, since it fortifies the endowment of the whole situation (especially in *The Family Reunion*) with its complex meaning. Eliot's considered technique of verse also makes an appropriate and organic contribution, pendulating between the realistic surface and the underlying myth, the verse that is very close to the prosaic, and that which draws on all the expressive sources, ancient and modern, of poetry.

It may be that the unifying of many strands of feeling and experience in the picture of life presented in Eliot's plays admits of approval in theory without being unchallengeably successful in dramatic practice. But the attempt to express this in drama by a combination of realistic modern setting and emergent myth is unique and, because of the range of experience and thought involved, infinitely interesting.

The examination of these four plays throws a vivid light on the relation of drama to contemporary life as expressed both in its themes and forms. For each springs from a distinct phase in the conditions of life in the past fifty or sixty years, and the originality of form is in each case seen to depend on an acute visionary assessment of the essential reality of the situation in both its individual and social aspects. Drama, like other literary forms, is always created by a particular imagination, but it is never simply a personal statement. It is always about men-in-

society, and a dramatist must be interested in that in the same way as the general run of men, however much greater his insight or stronger his emotions. The four cases here examined show four dramatists with their finger on the pulse of events and social change. Ibsen's analytic realism, Kaiser's expressionistic imagery, Giraudoux' myth-fantasies, Eliot's ritualistic realism, are distinct dramatic forms for distinct visions of man in society and amidst historical change. They each contain a critique of the human situation at given moments, shaped by acuteness of feeling and perception working together ; and it is to signalize their particular contributions within this general function that we have described them severally as critiques of morality, society, humanity, and culture.

The comparative method is especially fruitful, indeed essential, for this topic. The changes involved have been broadly similar in all European societies but they have not all been expressed, or not equally well, in any one literature ; not in the Norwegian, nor the German, nor the French, nor the English, nor any other. National genius plays its part in these high points of expression ; for the Protestant austerity of Ibsen, the strained emotionalism of Kaiser, the civilized intelligence of Giraudoux, the resort to verse drama in Eliot, to mention only a few features, all appear with peculiar appropriateness against the respective national backgrounds. The four plays to which interest has been directed were not chosen to make an argument ; on the contrary the latter emerged from seeing the pattern into which they naturally fall. They are plays that have attained an uncommon fame throughout Europe, which seems to confirm that situations evolving everywhere were expressed best now in one country, now in another.

WHAT IS SOCIAL HISTORY?¹

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JUDGED by the usual criteria of academic disciplines, social history as a separate study can scarcely be said to exist: there are no chairs and, if we omit local history, no departments, no learned journals, and few if any textbooks. There seems to be something approaching agreement about its elder brother. "There is now a virtual consensus of opinion", wrote J. F. Rees some years ago, "on the scope of economic history. It includes a study of the state of agriculture, industry, commerce and transport, together with an elucidation of the more technical problems of currency, credit, and taxation." He goes on to say, "These subjects necessarily involve an examination and description of social conditions. In fact the line between the economic and the social cannot be strictly drawn."² Sir Maurice Powicke writes in a similar vein: "Political and social history are in my view two aspects of the same process. Social life loses half its interest and political movements lose most of their meaning if they are considered separately."³

On social history, then, there seems to be only confusion. Is it, in the words of G. M. Trevelyan, "the history of a people with the politics left out",⁴ or, in those of A. L. Rowse, how society consumes what it has produced?⁵ Is it economic history without "the more technical problems of currency, credit, and taxation", or even without the economics? Is it, stripped to the skeleton, simply how men spent their leisure hours? All

¹ A paper read to a joint meeting of the economic historians of Liverpool and Manchester Universities, 19th May 1953.

² A. Redford, *Economic History of England*, 1760-1860, p. v. (Editor's Introductory Note).

³ *Henry III and the Lord Edward*, p. v.

⁴ *English Social History*, p. vii.

⁵ *The Use of History*, p. 69.

these definitions seem to me inadequate. Should we, and if so how can we, distinguish it from political or economic history, or even from general history? For, as Sir Lewis Namier has remarked, "human affairs being the subject matter of history, all human pursuits and disciplines *in their social aspects* enter into it."¹ What is the field of the social historian? How can we find a place for him?

I suspect that the social historian, like many others, is here the victim of a metaphor which bedevils even the most casual methodological remark. I mean the agrarian metaphor of "fields of study". According to this the busy cultivators of the academic soil divide it up into allotments on each of which, by a natural division of labour, each cultivator raises the kind of crops (of facts, hypotheses and generalizations) the ground and green fingers will yield. The "ploughland, plotted and pieced," of human knowledge is parcelled out like a great open field after enclosure—and woe to the tenant who cannot show a title-deed! The social historian finds his crops still stubbornly growing athwart his neighbours' hedges, and he must trespass, or become a hired labourer serving several masters. Finding a place for him seems an ungrateful task.

But "studies", "subjects", "disciplines", are not fields, and facts are not crops to be privately harvested and garnered. Facts belong to that category of "goods" which can be shared without being diminished. All facts are grist to the student's mill, provided his mill will grind them. The outcome of his labours depends on his choice of facts, and this depends on his interests, on the questions he wishes to ask.

Historians know this better than most students, for does not "history" come from a Greek word for an inquiry? All historians start with a question, however frequently they have to change it as they work. What happened? How did it happen? Why? Or at the very least: what will these documents tell me about the past? The social historian differs from other historians only in the questions he asks and the answers he seeks. Finding

¹ "History, its Subject-matter and Tasks", in *History Today*, March 1952, p. 161.

a place for him does not entail a re-allocation of holdings. It merely involves allowing him access to the evidence.

Social history might be thought to be the historical counterpart of sociology, which "ideally . . . has for its field the whole life of man in society".¹ But all historians ask questions about the life of man in society. What characterizes the questions of the social historian? The word "social" is, *prima facie*, not a help. The Oxford English Dictionary gives thirteen major usages (some of them obsolete). Not one of them covers all that is implied in "social history", or, if it does, covers too much. By virtue of its derivation the word seems at one time or another to have attached itself (in the human sphere alone) to any and every idea or relationship in any way connected with the grouping of men for whatever purpose. For "social" is an *omnibus* word covering in the first instance all those human activities which display awareness of others. Semantics fails us: we must fall back on common sense.

W. W. Rostow, attempting to "relate economic forces to social and political events", has written:² "It is a useful convention to regard society as made up of three levels, each with a life and continuity of its own, but related variously to the others. These three levels are normally designated as economic, social and political." However useful, it is still, of course, a convention. All three "levels" inhere, if anywhere, in each and every member of society. Society, like the universe, is one and indivisible. It is impossible to isolate, except metaphorically, any one of the "levels", however lively and continuous its existence within the whole. Even to claim primacy for the impulses from one level is no more than to assert that in each man one kind of interest, appetite, desire or motivation, predominates. Put in this way the determinist case becomes an interpretation of the nature of man. It may still hold, but the proofs are metaphysical, and the determinist must meet Professor Ryle's thesis that a man is a single entity, not a bundle of discreet parts and qualities.³ Men in the past, as we today, lived simultaneously

¹ M. Ginsberg, *Sociology*, p. 7.

² *British Economy of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 134.

³ G. Ryle, *The Concept of Mind*, *passim*.

on all three levels, without any division of themselves into abstract "men", either political, economic or social.

But, like the universe, society cannot be viewed from all sides at once. The spectacular success of the natural sciences since the seventeenth century springs from the device of abstraction, by which the scientist is able to concentrate on a limited number of eminently answerable questions. Abstraction does not change the world, it merely focusses the attention of the observer. In the study of history, of men in past society, it is the difference in focus which justifies the three-fold division of labour. Each specialist has his own focus of attention, his own point of view, his own techniques and tools, his own informing link with an appropriate analytical science (political studies, economics, or sociology). It is the labour, we note, not the final product, and in many cases not the raw material, which is divided. Social history is not a *part* of history. It is, in Professor Redford's phrase, all history from the social point of view.

But what is the social point of view? "The social level" (as viewed by Rostow) "is very broad indeed. It includes the way people live, the culture and religion which they generate and regard as acceptable, their scientific pursuits, and above all the general political concepts which serve to rationalize their relationship to the community."¹ This last point is surprising, though less so in a later form: "the manner in which general ideas are formed which serve as the basis for a considerable array of political positions on particular issues." G. M. Trevelyan, who takes a similar view of the intermediate role of social life between what are usually called the economic basis and the political superstructure, defines the scope of social history as "the daily life of the inhabitants of the land in past ages: this includes the human as well as the economic relation of different classes to one another, the character of family and household life, the conditions of labour and of leisure, the attitude of man to nature, the culture of each age as it arose out of these general conditions of life, and took ever changing forms in religion, literature and music, architecture, learning and thought".²

¹ Rostow, loc. cit.

² Trevelyan, loc. cit.

So far we are fellow-travellers : but one feels it is not far enough. Social history, on this pattern, is still auxiliary, peripheral, invertebrate, not, in Professor Toynbee's terminology, an intelligible field of study, nor even an articulation of one. There are some for whom even this is too much, who would confine social history to the kitchen, the wardrobe, the sports-field, the ballroom, the garden-party, the tap-room, and the green circle round the maypole. All these are fascinating places, provided they are seen in significant relation to the wider world of which they form part. What is to be avoided is antiquarianism, the compilation of undigested facts in unpalatable lists without significance or inspiration. Social history of this kind is prone to suffer from the defect remarked by H. P. R. Finberg of the local historians of the old school :¹ it lacks a central unifying theme.

Local history of the "new school", as it has developed in the twentieth century under F. M. Stenton, W. G. Hoskins and others, gives us the clue. Its central unifying theme seems to be none other than the social history of local communities. I am far from suggesting that social history, like the Department of Local History at Leicester, should take "the local history of all England for its province", though this would certainly have many advantages : Sir Maurice Powicke long ago acclaimed "the study of local history as the basis of the intimate understanding of social change".² What I have in mind is that the social historian should take his society, and try to see it whole. That is, in addition to studying the daily life of its members—in the wide sense intended by Trevelyan—he should concern himself with society *qua* society, with social activities and institutions *as such*, irrespective of their end or purpose.

This is the plan adopted by A. L. Rowse in his excellent study of the structure of society in *The England of Elizabeth*. There he essays to "expose and portray" the whole society, to "extract the juices of the social" from government and economic matters, parliament and the church, law, education and the cul-

¹ *The Local Historian and his Theme*, p. 17 (University College of Leicester Department of Local History, Occasional Papers, No. 1.).

² *Historical Study in Oxford*, p. 10 (Inaugural Lecture, 1929).

tivation of the land ; wherever in short they can be found. " Only so is it possible to write the book and give it coherent form." Social life as an end in itself, the intricate and infinitely varied patterns worked within this frame, he wisely postpones until the frame's construction is laid bare.¹

The political and the economic historian are aware of the social framework underpinning the economy and the political system at every point. The shape and structure of society, its growth and decline, the physical distribution of its members by region and district, town, village and homestead, and their social distribution in the " bands of prestige " we call classes,² all these affect and are affected by events on the levels of politics and economics. The political or economic historian is often driven to ask questions about them, but they are not his primary concern. He is not interested in them for their own sake, but only as they affect the economy or political affairs. Except indirectly, they are not his questions ; but they are the social historian's starting point.

The best example of what I mean is the study of population, now a discipline in itself, with its own name, techniques and journals. Its protagonists point out that it requires the aid of many different specialisms—statistics, medicine, biology, dietetics, economics, sociology—and its findings must be taken into account by all who study society, from whatever point of view. In the words of one demographer, " the significance of population phenomena lies in the meaning for human activity. Population numbers mean markets, military forces, land values. Deaths mean ill-health and disabilities."³ He might have added that fewer deaths and fewer births mean an aging population, leading to many new problems, political and economic as well as social. The effects are inexorable, the ramifications endless ; and the twenty year old conclusion on the crucial population changes of the period during and since the industrial revolution is that the facts of population have been more cause than effect in the

¹ *The England of Elizabeth*, Preface.

² W. J. H. Sprott, *Sociology*, p. 98.

³ W. F. Ogburn, " On the Social Aspects of Population Change ", in *British Journal of Sociology*, vol iv, no. 1 (1953), p. 26.

economic history of England.¹ Yet in spite of its difficulties and implications, the study of population is central to the social historian's purpose. Demography as a practical science is a branch of sociology: as a historical study it is a branch of social history.

As for the study of institutions, the House of Lords or the Stock Exchange is just as legitimate a topic for the social historian as the kitchen or the wardrobe. Indeed, the social origins of the peerage and the class-connections of stock-brokers both cry out for systematic investigation. Every institution, from trial by ordeal to the modern factory, from partible inheritance to political patronage, has its social aspect. Its interest for the social historian is intensified if it throws light on the way in which the society maintains and renews itself, distributes prestige or status, and solves or frets at the recurring problems of adjustment to its environment and its neighbours.

Light may be found in the most improbable places. Sir Maurice Powicke says of the thirteenth century tournament: "The inducements to violence were too great to allow room for restraint. In the early days, if not later, prisoners might be held to ransom; the booty in valuable horses and equipment might always be large; victory could lead to fortune as well as to fame. The Earl Marshal's prowess in the tournament had laid the foundations of a career which had led to a rich marriage and an earldom; and, although he was certainly an exceptional man, it would be easy to underrate the influence of these martial gatherings on the social fortunes of young men in succeeding generations."² There is a clear example of social mobility, all the more important in an age when the opportunities for social advancement were relatively few.

Pilgrimage to the relics of saints might be thought a social activity of some interest, but not much far-reaching significance. In a recent book remarkable for its consistently social approach to general European history, R. W. Southern writes of the tenth

¹ T. H. Marshall, "The Population of England and Wales from the Industrial Revolution to the World War", in *Economic History Review*, vol. v, no. ii (1934-5), p. 76.

² *Henry III and the Lord Edward*, p. 21.

and eleventh centuries: "The deficiencies in human resources were supplied by the power of the saints. They were the great power-houses in the fight against evil; they filled the gaps left in the structure of human justice. The most revealing map of Europe in these centuries would be a map, not of political or commercial capitals, but of the constellation of sanctuaries, the points of material contact with the unseen world."¹ So succinctly is characterized the religious orientation and springs of action of an entire, if small, international society. When he recalls that Rome was the sanctuary of many saints, above all of the two great apostles, a flood of light is thrown on the origins of Papal supremacy.

In my view, then, social history is nothing more and nothing less than the history of society. If this is an *Odyssey* indeed, it has its wayside hazards. On the one side there is, since nothing human happens outside society, the whirlpool of exhaustiveness, of totality, the end of those "still climbing after knowledge infinite". On the other side prowls the devouring monster of social science.

First, the history of society is not the history of everything that happens *in* society. That is total history, ideal history, that complete understanding of mankind's past which every true historian dreams of, works towards, and (since he cannot travel simultaneously by land, sea, and air) forsakes only as a means, not as an end. The social historian must avoid the attempt to be everywhere at once. He must keep firmly in view his immediate goal, the understanding of the daily life of men in the past, *in its setting* of society and institutions.

Secondly, social history is not a branch of sociology. It does not seek practical knowledge, descriptive laws, governing principles, predictive generalizations, or what Professor Homans (emulating Clerk-Maxwell) calls "the nine field-equations" of the science of human relations. It is, first and last, a kind of history. Like all history, it is concerned with "concrete events fixed in time and space"²—that is, with particular societies at particular times in particular places. These the social historian

¹ *The Making of the Middle Ages*, p. 137.

² L. B. Namier, *op. cit.* p. 157.

studies for their own sake, as an end in themselves, without reference to the practical utility of what he discovers. If an ulterior end is required, it is the hope that "Histories make men wise". Economic history in its early days had to resist the economists' demand that it be "governed by the desire to illustrate economic laws".¹ The social historian differs from the sociologist precisely as the economic historian from the economist. He confronts the same material, he may even use similar techniques, but he asks different questions, seeks a different end.

Social history, to justify itself, must ultimately issue in actual social histories. At present it seems to be in, or just emerging from, the situation Cunningham remarked of economic history nearly forty years ago :² "There have been numerous histories of one or another department of economic activity, as for example, merchant shipping, or agriculture, or of particular localities; but comparatively little progress has been made in surveying the growth of economic activities in their interconnection, and the development of the body Economic as a whole." Now, there is nothing at all to be said against histories of departments of any kind of history, least of all social history. The more there are, the nearer draws the possibility of a comprehensive social history, and the better it will be when it comes. Moreover, there is no need for the specialist historian to consider too closely in what category his interest falls. Let him follow his question, his problem or his material where it will lead. If he cuts across categories, if like Newton he can unite two hitherto unrelated fields of experience, so much the better. He may be a genius, a man who sets others thinking in a way which was not possible before. His work in any event will have value for general history, and for some historians in particular. But, to paraphrase Cunningham, there will still be a need to survey the growth of social activities in their interconnection, and the development of the body social as a whole.

Of what ought a "comprehensive" social history to consist? First it should concern one society, fixed in space and time: Latin Christendom in the eleventh and twelfth centuries,

¹ W. Cunningham, *The Progress of Capitalism in England*, p. 6, n. 2.

² *Ibid.* p. 17.

Middlesbrough in the Victorian age, England since 1500. What aspects of the society ought the social historian to follow through the viscidities of time, what themes ought he to unfold, as far as the evidence permits? In my view, he should pursue four major interrelated interests. The first is the society as it presents itself as an environment, both physical and social, to be lived in; the second, the manifold social life which is, as it were, woven on this loom; the third, how the inhabitants react upon their society and its groupings and institutions, to maintain or change it, to improve their place in it as individuals or as groups, and to ensure its continuance over the generations; the fourth (closely connected with the previous one) is the social problems with which the society has been faced, and its attempts at remedying them. These interests are not meant to be branches or departments of the study, a rigid scaffolding to which all social historians must conform. The presentation of the society's story, the priority or weight given to its various features, the balance of the whole, should spring from the idiosyncracies of the material and the historian. Historiography is an art, not the compilation of answers to a questionnaire. The four interests are meant solely to suggest threads to be worked into the tapestry.

In the first the social historian is concerned with the "given element" into which the individual is born. It should include the size, shape and structure of the society (the distribution of the population, the class-system, etc.) and, since these can scarcely be understood without reference to the physical environment with which the society is intimately intermingled, its geographical background, the hard facts of topography, soil, climate and vegetation (in so far as they affect the life of man) and the ways in which these have been modified by human action. The social structure is something more than the system of classes and should include the whole complex of institutions and associations in and around which social life is lived—that is, family, church, professional body, trade union, club, guild, chivalrous order, and even the factory, political party or the organs of government; these last of course in, and only in, their social aspects.

The second interest is the social life which is lived within the framework of the first. Here the social historian must

reduce to order a multitude of topics, including the means and conditions of life—food, clothing, accommodation, furniture, conditions of labour, etc. ; its modes—manners, fashion, etiquette ; and its ends—family-life, religion, literature, the arts and music, and all other cultural and leisure-time activities and enjoyments, sports and pastimes. Perhaps he should go further and try to catch the quality or flavour of social life as a whole, as G. M. Young has done for the early Victorians ; but this requires a long and intimate acquaintance, a rare intuition, and above all a sympathetic understanding of one generation, which may, indeed, mean one is out of tune with the next.

The third interest is the way the society, through its members, reacts upon itself. Here I am thinking of something more than Rowse's brilliant notion of "the Elizabethan discovery of England". It should include what sociologists call "social control", the customs, "folkways", or traditional morality by which society moulds its members, and persuades or forces them to conform with its own persistent patterns. Closely related to this is education, interpreted in the widest sense as all the arrangements for passing on and improving the social inheritance. Then there are the ways in which the various groups or classes react towards each other, by emulation or indifference, disdain or patronage, competition or conflict ; and the way individuals overcome social disability and acquire or lose status by social movement between classes. Finally, there are the social ideals of the society in relation to which all such reactions and movements are aligned, and towards which attempts at social change are directed.

The fourth and last interest is what may be called social pathology ; that is, social problems and the attempts at remedying them. These are what Cunningham had in mind when he wrote,¹ "We cannot understand the past unless we attempt to realize the precise problems of each age and the success or failure which attended human efforts to grapple with them". The social historian might begin with the giants of our modern domestic epic, want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness ; but there

¹ Op. cit. p. 24.

are many others to be found in most societies in most ages—vice and violence, intolerance, civil strife, and the effects of war. Their remedies bring the social historian into the realms of government policy, social administration, police and punishment, and also into those of mutual aid, philanthropic endeavour and simple good-neighbourliness.

How the fruits of these enquiries should be presented is, I repeat, for the individual social historian, in the light of his particular society and period, to decide. A great deal may be learnt from local studies, in the handling of small societies over short periods. A danger to be avoided (as with the proverbial trees and the wood) is that of allowing the "topics" more prominence than the development of the whole. This, as Cunningham reminded us, is an old problem in *economic history*. The attempt to solve it has given much trouble to the editors of the *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, as is evident from the change of plan in the second volume. In the social history of modern England, the most natural approach is to move forward by generations, giving, at the risk of some repetition in the "topics", a picture of each as a self-contained society, a temporal articulation of the larger study. Even this presents many difficulties. There is no ideal solution and only one touchstone, that the history, like poetry, should seem to come unforced, like the leaves to a tree.

The pursuit of his interests will often lead the social historian into waters frequented by other historians. Some of the answers he seeks or the evidence for them are already to be found between the covers of books clearly labelled political or economic history. The class-structure, for instance, is not the same thing as the division of income or of wealth. "The essence of social class", writes T. H. Marshall, "is the way a man is treated by his fellows (and, reciprocally, the way he treats them), not the qualities or the possessions which cause that treatment".¹ But the acquisition of these qualities and possessions is, in part at least, an economic matter. Here the social historian is very near the whirlpool of totality. With those institutions and activities

¹ *Citizenship and Social Class*, p. 92.

we call the economic basis, and those others we call the political superstructure, he seems to have plunged right in.

But let us look at what J. R. McCulloch thought were the pre-requisites of the good economist : "The economist will not arrive at anything like a true knowledge of the laws regulating the production, accumulation, distribution and the consumption of wealth if he do not draw his materials from a very wide surface. He should study man in every situation ; he should have recourse to the history of society, arts, commerce and civilization, to the works of legislators, philosophers, and travellers, to everything in short that can throw light on the causes which accelerate or retard the progress of nations . . .".¹ McCulloch did not intend his economist should also be an art critic, cultural historian, philosopher, student of jurisprudence, or even traveller. He simply meant he should seek his answers wherever they might be found.

So it is with the social historian. He will welcome light from any source. Statistics of unemployment, or of wages and prices, or the commodities available for consumption, are all of immediate concern to him. So are the social policies and legislation of governments whether in the days of Burleigh or Beveridge. The economic historian, who has always had to take into account the actions of governments, will readily concede the point. The techniques of industry, or the interactions of the economy, the processes of the constitution or the strategy of warfare are not the social historian's first interest. He is concerned with them only as they affect social activities and institutions. It is a matter of focus, of priorities, of emphasis. He will not linger in the wake of political or economic history longer than it takes him to answer his questions. Though he may sail for a distance through the same waters, he will steer a different course, towards the understanding of society *qua* society, of social life as an end in itself.

We can put this to the test by considering those periods in which the political or economic element is particularly strong : the industrial revolution, say, or the early seventeenth century. How will the social historian deal with these ?

¹ *Principles of Political Economy*, 4th ed., p. 21.

Among the many questions he will ask about the industrial revolution, those which immediately stand out concern changes in the distribution of the population, the multiplication of consumer-goods (that access of mere "things" which so struck Sydney Smith), the social acceptability of the factory master (was he, like Smith's Daniel Webster, "much like a steam-engine in trousers"?), and above all the question of the formation of new classes. Some of the answers are to be found or suggested in most of the economic histories of the age. But there are other questions which can hardly be dealt with as topics incidental to an economic theme. The period may be conceived as a great social drama, whose plot is the breakdown of an older organic society and the agonies which accompany the birth of a new, and whose climax coincides with the Regency.

Professor Tawney has made the social approach to the political conflicts of the seventeenth century his own. It is now well recognized that the Caroline turmoil was preceded and to some extent circumscribed by deep-rooted changes in the prosperity of certain classes. "The rise of the gentry" has become part of the terminology of the period. For Tawney, the causes were the diverse response of aristocracy and gentry to the economic problems of the century ending with the Civil War. Now, in his recent paper,¹ H. R. Trevor-Roper has criticized his partition of the land-owning class and has substituted for it a distinction between those members of a single class who did and those who did not benefit from the profits of political office. He sees as the hard core of rebellion not the risen gentry foreclosing with their aristocratic debtors but the excluded landowners, noble and common, exasperated with their rivals, who grow rich at their expense. As a cause of rebellion this has a plausible ring: we might instance the indebtedness, recently noted by Professor Edward Hughes,² of the Catholic supporters in the north-east of the 1715 Rising. We await Professor Tawney's rejoinder. Meanwhile we may note how the question turns on the analysis of social class. "Political history",

¹ "The Gentry, 1540-1640", *The Economic History Review Supplements*, no. 1.

² *North Country Life in the Eighteenth Century, The North-East, 1700-1750*, pp. 3-4.

as Trevor-Roper says,¹ "is often a commentary, a corrective and clarifying commentary, on social history and as such cannot be divorced from it." That is true—though marriage is happiest when the partners are not in each other's way all day long.

It is clear that the social historian, like McCulloch's economist, must "draw his materials from a very wide surface". His sources may be found in whatever has come down to us from the past, whether in manuscript or in print; the myriad artifacts (clothes, furniture, cooking pots, etc.) which are the instruments of daily life; the products of past culture; or the marks of old habitation on the face of the country. He must know only how to use them. With documents, he should be a skilled researcher; with objects, an archaeologist, and just as prepared to go out into the field; with books and pictures, not perhaps a connoisseur, but at least a dilettante, knowing something of their value and meaning. With them all, he should have a keen eye for what they can tell him about the past life of man in society.

F. R. Leavis believes that to use literary evidence or illustration intelligently the student of society or politics must be a trained literary critic:² "Without the sensitizing familiarity with the subtleties of language, and the insight into the relations between abstract or generalizing thought and the concrete of human experience, that the trained frequentation of literature alone can bring, the thinking that attends social or political studies will not have the edge and force it should."³ This is perhaps true—though he seems less acutely aware of the reciprocal need of the student of past literature to have studied, from non-literary sources, the society of which the literature is the outgrowth.

"The concrete of human experience" will certainly light up a generalization or a statistical analysis. For example, students of "the social class of Cambridge alumni" have concluded, *inter alia*, that the heirs of eighteenth and nineteenth century

¹ Op. cit. p. 44.

² See the two papers "Literature and Society" and "Sociology and Literature" in *The Common Pursuit*.

³ *The Common Pursuit*, p. 194.

landowners did not distinguish themselves academically to the same extent as their fellow-students or younger brothers.¹ How this conclusion comes alive when we read the anxious widow to her eldest boy at Magdalene ! " Your promises aided by my strong affections prove powerful enough to make me give in to what you desire, even to forget past miscarriages if you'll be serious and make the best use of your time you possibly can for the future and study as much as in you lies to retrieve the precious time you have unhappily lost. In order to that you must drop all the Idle part of your acquaintance and they'll not care to trouble you if they find you intent upon a Book. Don't make much of your Self in a bad way. No philosopher in Cambridge will find occasion for more than fourscore pound a Year ".² Perhaps he had justified her earlier fears when " Sturbridge " Fair was drawing near " that all the silly Students will lose their time and innocence there," and ignored her advice " to get your Tutor to go along with you . . . ".³ We are not surprised to learn that there is no record of Jack Egerton's graduation, or that Samuel and Thomas, who did not go to Cambridge, became successful merchants in Venice and Holland.⁴

As to the rest of Dr. Leavis's argument (though he has some penetrating questions to suggest to the social historian) what is to be remembered, I suggest, is that no self-respecting historian would rely on evidence from one source alone. He would not expect Moll Flanders to be typical of the women of Defoe's age—she is patently too much herself for that—but he may legitimately expect her story to confirm impressions from other sources about the life of the London poor, the attitude towards them of their " betters ", the position of dowryless women, or the chronic fear on the part of parish authorities of the birth of fatherless children.

¹ H. Jenkins and D. Caradog Jones, " The Social Class of Cambridge Alumni of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries ", in *British Journal of Sociology*, vol. i, no. 2 (1950).

² *Egerton Papers*, undated letter, E. Egerton to John Egerton, c. 1729.

³ *Ibid.* August, 1728.

⁴ W. H. Chaloner, " The Egertons in Italy and the Netherlands, 1729-44 " in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. xxxii (1949-50). Both letters are quoted on p. 159.

The point may be put less equivocally in relation to painting. One does not have to be an art critic to realize the value for the social historian of Ford Madox Brown's "Work" in the Manchester City Art Gallery. Here, for those who can recognize it, is a microcosm of society in 1852: the equestrian gentry; the middle-class ladies with crinoline, sunshade and inevitable tract—"The Hodman's Haven, or Drink for Thirsty Souls"; the thirsty hodman downing a pint; the clean-drawn navvy in all the dignity of labour; the "upnish" craftsman with button-hole, watch-chain and copy of *The Times*; the sleeping tramps; the shame-faced ragged messenger bearing flowers; the sandwich-board men—and women; the orange-girl being "moved along"; the intellectuals leaning on the fence—the one on the left is said to be Carlyle; the merry urchins, the underfed baby with its sad, old-man's face, and, of course, the mongrels. On the frame there is the homily, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread". Even the work has a mid-Victorian flavour: they appear to be mending a sewer.

The multitude of sources and the many-sidedness of social life bring us face to face with the general problem of how far the social historian needs to be a specialist in an impossibly long list of varied topics. Fortunately Professor Butterfield, in his approach to the history of science, has pointed the way towards a solution. It is that the scientist's interest in its history is in the evolution of modern techniques and theories, while the historian's is in the significance of past science—even when it lies in an evolutionary cul-de-sac—in the thought and experience of contemporaries. One does not have to be a natural scientist to trace significance, nor does one have to be a musician, an architect, a book-maker or a doctor to trace the significance of music, architecture, horse-racing or public health in the social life of the past. One merely needs to be well-informed, intelligent and a skilled historian. An educated man, it has been said, is one who can read every page of *The Times* with intelligence. But that does not mean he needs to be an expert in diplomacy, the law, finance, fashion-designing, theatrical production, undertaking and the construction of crossword puzzles. The ideal social historian is the ideally educated man.

In spite of the plaintive introduction with which this paper began, the neglect of social history is only apparent. A great deal of it is being done. Not only are there "comprehensive" social histories in progress, like Dr. Rowse's *The Elizabethan Age* or Professor Hughes's *North Country Life in the Eighteenth Century*. There are also signs of growing appreciation of the social approach to political and general history. The most notable, of course, is the plan of the proposed history of parliament. Its method, the outgrowth of the practice of Professors Namier and Neale, will be the biographical study of as many members as are known.¹ It is, indeed, a sociological technique, that of the best kind of social survey: case-histories treated statistically. The result, which should be of equal value to the social as to the political historian, will be, in Sir Lewis Namier's words, "a demographic study of the most significant group-formation in the life of this country".² To me it suggests what may well become the starting-point of a new approach to general history, in which all three kinds of historian may learn to work together as a team: the study of what Pareto and Toynbee have taught us to call élites, and the interrelation and interaction of their political power, economic strength and social prestige or magnetism.

Professor Habbakuk has already shown the kind of contribution the social historian can make to such a study in his inquiry into the arrangements by which the seventeenth and eighteenth century landowners provided for their families.³ Here is a study near to the social historian's heart, the rôle of the family in the maintenance of the class-system. At the same time it has the widest implications. Here as well as in his consideration of rates of interest and the price of land,⁴ Professor Habbakuk reaches the conclusion that many economic transactions in that very acquisitive age were governed by

¹ Namier, op. cit. p. 162; J. E. Neale, "The Biographical Approach to History", in *History*, vol. xxxvi (1951).

² Namier, loc. cit.

³ See "Marriage Settlements in the Eighteenth Century", in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser., vol. xxxii (1950).

⁴ "The Long-term Rate of Interest and the Price of Land in the Seventeenth Century", in *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., vol. v, no. 1 (1950).

extra-economic motives, among them the secure establishment of rich men's descendants in positions of prestige.

This leads me to a very important aspect of social history, its concern with the ends men have sought : prestige, admiration, culture, fame, knowledge, unreflecting enjoyment, family life, philanthropy, spiritual peace, or a vicarious eternal life in the seed of their loins. Political and economic activities are for most men simply means to these ends. It is necessary to go beyond the political and economic systems to discover why men engage in them. The impulses from the social level are in a special sense primary. I am not putting forward a new kind of determinism : men, we may still believe, choose their ends ; they are not chosen by them. Determinism, we have seen, is at bottom an interpretation of the nature of man. Those who pursue it seem to me to impute to the majority of men, or at least to the majority of those in key positions, the pathological ends of a few : power or acquisition as ends in themselves.

There is plenty of evidence for a growing interest, outside academic circles as well as within, in the questions of the social historian. The sustained interest of adult classes in local history of the "new school" is a random example. Every generation has its own interest in the past, its own version of the perennial question of Milton's Adam, "How came I thus, how here ?" This may or may not be the century of the common man—it is much more likely the century of the uncommon expert—but its interest in the past can only be described as social. It wants to know not so much how things worked but how it felt to be alive ; how men in history—ordinary men, not kings and statesmen—lived and worked and thought and behaved towards each other. "Social questions", as Beatrice Webb confided to herself as long ago as 1884, "are the vital questions of today : they take the place of religion."¹ In 1953 they take the place of everything, at least in politics, even in foreign politics. There is no need to ask further for the interest in social history.

My Apprenticeship, p. 149 (MS. Diary for 1884).

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND THE OLD TESTAMENT SCRIPTURES¹

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DESPITE the very large number of controversial topics associated with the Dead Sea Scrolls, there is practical unanimity that the nature of the literature shows that the scrolls belonged to an apocalyptic party or sect, and that both the literature and the sect can be studied against the apocalyptic background provided by extant Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and by the New Testament. It is generally assumed, too, that the period to which the composition of the scrolls should be assigned corresponds with that of these writings, namely, the first centuries B.C. and A.D. That the party of the scrolls were dissenters from orthodox Pharisaic-Rabbinism hardly needs demonstration, for the fact of the disappearance of the party from known Jewish history and the deposit of its literature in caves could not well be accounted for in any other way.

Attempts to identify the dissenters with Essenes or Ebionite Christians or, again, early Karaites or Sadducees are still only partially successful, and because the case for all these parties can be presented more or less plausibly, it must be concluded that the evidence for any definitive identification is still lacking. It should be emphasized, however, that absence of identification does not in consequence necessarily minimize the importance of the scrolls, for, in the last resort, their major contribution is to the study of apocalyptic literature, and only indirectly to the study of Jewish history. They contribute substantially to our knowledge of apocalyptic as a literary and religious phenomenon of their period, whereas any purely historical contribution they can make must necessarily be conjectural: consequently a scrutiny

¹ The contents of this paper were read to the Oxford University Society of Historical Theology and the Oxford University Origen Society on January 28th and 29th, 1953.

of the scrolls simply for "history" might be regarded as misleading and precarious.

It must always be allowed, of course, that the "historical occasion" is of considerable importance to the study of the scrolls, even as it is to all other apocalyptic writing: but, just as New Testament scholarship has been abundantly helped by the study of the term "Son of Man" in apocalyptic literature in the Book of Enoch without undue concern being paid to "history" in that literature, so can the scrolls be turned to good account, even though "history" as such is likewise elusive. In all apocalyptic writing, we find either that the historical occasions are heavily camouflaged or that the religious tension which produced the literature makes any reference to actual events irrelevant.

I

Prominent among the characteristic features of the Dead Sea Scrolls as apocalyptic is the part played by the Scriptures. They are basic, not only to the Habakkuk commentary but also to such scrolls as the Songs of Thanksgiving, the Warfare Scroll and the two descriptive documents, the Manual of Discipline and the Damascus Document. In general, we can conclude that apocalyptic as represented by the Dead Sea Scrolls is really produced by a fusion of two extremely strong forces. On the one hand is the force and tension of events, with political and social catastrophe threatening the people with doom and annihilation. What constituted the threats is the problem of historical criticism, and it must suffice here to say that they were the result of either external events such as any series of episodes which belong to the troublesome era between the Maccabees and Bar Cochba, or internal factions and persecutions, and these, too, are numerous. On the other hand is the unique religious development of those centuries, namely, a concern for and a profound recognition of the Scriptures as having a peculiar application to the Jewish way of life in a variety of ways. Adoration of Scripture seems to have been exceptionally strong in the period around the beginning of the Christian era, and it found expression in the legalism of the Rabbis, with its outcome in the

Mishnah, in the philosophizing allegorization of Philo and Hellenistic Judaism, and yet again in the "interpretation" of apocalyptic, which is particularly obvious in some of the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament, but is by no means absent from Old Testament Pseudepigrapha.

It has long since been recognized, e.g. by R. H. Charles,¹ that apocalyptic contains an element of Scripture study and interpretation. But whereas Charles would limit the apocalypticist's interest to what he calls "unfulfilled prophecy", the Dead Sea Scrolls show that Old Testament Prophecy, so far as we know in its entirety, was to be interpreted as having relevance to contemporary exigencies. There appears to be no evidence in either the Old Testament Apocalyptic or in the non-canonical writings to support Canon Charles' view that "unfulfilled prophecies of the older prophets were re-edited" by the apocalypticists. It is rather to the contrary. The apocalypticists regarded the prophets as having foretold what was to happen and that the fulfilment of their words was at hand. In Dan. ix. 2, "the word of the Lord to Jeremiah the prophet, for the accomplishing of the desolations of Jerusalem, even seventy years" is "understood" by Daniel as having explicit reference to his own day, and he immediately proceeds to "interpret" the passage by multiplying the number of years mentioned in Jeremiah to produce 490 years, that is, the length of the period between the exilic Daniel and his own day. It was not that Jeremiah's prophecy had been "unfulfilled"; we know that the writer of Chronicles certainly regarded Jeremiah's prediction as having been literally correct (2 Chron. xxxvi. 21), and Zech. vii. 5 refers to the same period of seventy years. The troubles of the Maccabean times were in accordance with the divine plan, and the plan is revealed to Daniel, hence the visions and their interpretation in vii-xii. He, too, knows the meaning, as applicable to his own day, of Jeremiah's oracle. When we turn to Daniel's prayer in the remainder of chapter ix, the importance of Scripture as a source of solace is again prominent, for Biblical phrases are interwoven to provide a most effective petition for mercy. Similarly, the Dead Sea Scrolls

¹ E.g. *Religious Development between the Old and New Testaments*, Home University Library (1914), pp. 25 ff.

give instances of apocalyptic as consisting of the same kind of Biblical exegesis, with an infusion of terror and eschatology. The Songs of Thanksgiving, and the Song of the Priest in the Warfare Scroll are similar in character to Daniel's prayer. The Habakkuk commentary,¹ of course, is the prime example of interpretation according to the principles of apocalyptic exegesis.

Before proceeding to examine this particular feature in the scrolls, however, mention must be made of some recent expositions of the New Testament use of the Old Testament, especially in studies by T. W. Manson² and C. H. Dodd.³ The latter has demonstrated how the very first statement of the Christian faith in the Apostolic Kerygma is to be traced to a particular method of Old Testament interpretation. "Certain large sections of the O.T. Scriptures", he explains, "especially from Isaiah, Jeremiah and certain Minor Prophets and from the Psalms" were brought into play, one upon the other, until there emerged from them "the creation of an entirely new figure, who is Christ himself, with a variety of attributes connected with his person and work".⁴ Professor Dodd's emphasis throughout the discussion is that the relationship between these attributes and the Old Testament is a basic one, and consequently that most, if not all New Testament Christology is essentially a matter of a special usage of Old Testament exegesis. The sections of the Old Testament chosen as the foundation of the structure show that, in the first instance, the Old Testament apocalyptic passages are especially important inasmuch as they reveal the "pattern" which, disclosed in the past history of Israel, is conceived by the New Testament writers to have been brought into full light in the events of the Gospel story and which they interpret accordingly.⁵

¹ That this is not an isolated product is shown by the fact that fragments have been identified of a commentary on a Psalm and a portion of Micah. But these texts are too short for inclusion in the present discussion.

² T. W. Manson, "The Argument from Prophecy", *J.T.S.*, vol. 46 (1945), pp. 129 ff.; and "The Old Testament in the Teaching of Jesus", *Bull. of the John Rylands Library*, vol. 34, no. 2 (1952), pp. 312 ff.

³ C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures* (London, 1952).

⁴ Op. cit. p. 127 f.

⁵ Ibid. p. 128.

In this type of exegesis the prophetic oracles are specifically made to refer to the historical person who is the author of the interpretation and to the historical circumstances which he brings about, including the final redemption of all who believe in him. It is just this personal and circumstantial aspect which characterizes, too, the Religious Teacher in the Habakkuk scroll, and the events which surround him. One cannot but sense the fundamental difference between this interpretation and the casuistic *pilpulism* of the Mishnaic appeal to Scripture and the ingenious metaphorical expansions of Philo. Whereas the Rabbis seem to have had a genius for inductive reasoning, and the Jewish Greeks make the Scriptures merely an allegory, apocalyptic passionately expounds the interpretation of the Divine promise of the Saviour and the salvation which had been kept hidden in the Word of God until the time of its fulfilment. This seems to be basic to the story of Jesus at Nazareth, Luke iv. 16 ff., and equally basic to the Teacher of Righteousness in the Habakkuk scroll. Another point made by the New Testament scholars in this connection is that the interpretation does not involve violence to any essential teaching of the Old Testament.¹ In this respect, too, the Habakkuk scroll is similar. In both places it is assumed that the Old Testament contains the promise of divine redemption as it is realized in history and mediated through Men of God : it is certainly true of Christ in the New Testament, it is equally apparent in the Righteous Teacher and his salvation. Nevertheless, both in the New Testament and in the scrolls respectively, there is exercised a freedom in the way the exact terms of the divine oracles are made to refer to contemporary events. Once more I refer to Professor Dodd's book because of the aptness of his observation to describe the same important characteristic in the Habakkuk scroll. He explains that in those portions of the Old Testament which are interpreted in the New, "the actual meaning discovered in a passage will seldom, in the nature of things, coincide precisely with that which it had in its original context"² : but rather "grows out of it". In the same way we find passages in the Habakkuk scroll which "grow

¹ Cf. Dodd, op. cit. pp. 126 ff. ; T. W. Manson, *Old Testament in the Teaching of Jesus*, p. 331.

² Dodd, *ibid.*

out " of the original oracles, under the guidance of the Righteous Teacher's exposition.

An important instance of the fluctuation and change of meaning may be found in the way the term *Kittim* is interpreted in the scrolls. In the Warfare scrolls the *Kittim* of Assyria and the *Kittim* of Egypt quite obviously refer to the Seleucids and Ptolemies once the period of the second or first century B.C. be accepted for the composition of the scroll. In the *Habakkuk* commentary, however, there are strong reasons for assuming that the reference is to the imperial forces of Rome;¹ though there are some scholars who insist on an identification here, too, with the Hellenists.² In the book of Daniel, however, the reference is almost certainly to the Romans, even though the Seleucid and Ptolemaic rulers are likewise referred to in the context. *Dan. xi. 30* states, " ships of *Kittim* shall come against him : therefore shall he be grieved ". If the " grieved one " is, as is reasonably certain, Antiochus Epiphanes, the Seleucids and Ptolemies are assuredly " the Kings of the North and the South ", respectively. It is generally agreed that it was because of Roman intervention that Antiochus Epiphanes was deprived of the spoils in his victory over Egypt and then spitefully wreaked vengeance on Jerusalem, and that this is the episode to which Daniel xi refers. Again, from a historical point of view, it is significant that the Septuagint translated *Kittim* in *Dan. xi. 30* with " Romans ". Furthermore, it would appear that the identity of *Kittim* with Romans was commonly accepted in the early Christian era, for both Onqelos and Jerome render Balaam's oracle

¹ It is unnecessary, for the present purpose, to interfere in the dispute which is now taking place between protagonists for and against this identification ; suffice it to say that though Professor H. H. Rowley (*The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (1952), pp. 46, 74 ff., and elsewhere) criticizes Professor Dupont-Sommer's case for identity with the Romans, the latter has returned to the debate in *Nouveaux Aperçus sur les Manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (Paris, 1953), pp. 33-61, and still persists in the views he had earlier presented. It appears to the present writer that a Roman setting seems best to fit in with most of the indications in the scroll, but Professor Dupont-Sommer's exact identity does not carry conviction in every respect. For a recent review of the discussion, cf. M. Delcor, " Où en est le problème du Midrash d'Habacuc ", *Rev. de l'Hist. d. Religions* (Oct.-Dec. 1952), pp. 129-46.

² E.g. H. H. Rowley, op. cit.

in Num. xxiv. 23 f. with Romans.¹ Obviously it does not necessarily follow from this that in the Habakkuk scroll the identification of the actual historical incidents with the Roman capture of Jerusalem or any other definite Roman episode must be accepted ; what should be indicated is that because Kittim in the scrolls, as indeed in the Old Testament, has an apocalyptic nuance, it can be understood as having reference in the one place, e.g. Warfare, to Seleucid-Ptolemies and again in other places, e.g. Habakkuk (?) and Daniel to the Romans. What the scroll is definite in stating is that they are the persecutors of the people of God and the means of bringing about the final throes of the time of woe. In column 6 of the Habakkuk commentary we are told that " the *Kittim* will destroy many with the sword, young men and old, women and children, and will not spare the unborn. At the end of the days the riches (of the last priests of Jerusalem who amassed riches and spoils by plundering the people) will be delivered into the hands of the forces of the *Kittim*. For it is they who are the remnant of the people (Hab. ii. 8a, had said ' all the remnant of the peoples will plunder thee ') ". The interest of the interpreter is not in the historical or actual identity of the Kittim, he and his people know only too well who they are ! What he is concerned to show is that the miseries of his time are divinely ordained ; the prophetic oracles of old, pointing as they do to contemporary events, are an indication of the measure of God's love, for He, by granting to the Righteous Teacher the key to those oracles, is fulfilling the prophecy and accomplishing His promise of salvation. This union of apocalyptic and " history " in one and the same interpretation needs to be clearly realized when we try and solve the conundrum of the Kittim in the scrolls. Apocalyptic does not appear to be particularly interested in " history " except as part of the divine order of things, leading to the desired consummation. It is therefore quite natural to have in the literature certain terms

¹ Incidentally, the LXX of this passage shows an interesting variant : for M.T. בְּצִיּוֹת it appears to have read οὐταὶ αἴτιοι, " those coming out of ", thus implying that a maritime background for כְּתָאִים is not indicated. Whether or not a different basic text from M.T. is to be postulated is not clear : the LXX might well be interpretative.

which are subject to vacillation and "growth" in meaning, provided it be understood that the main concern of the interpreter, and consequently his inner consistency, is the apocalyptic *dénouement* towards which he is directing the hopes of his disciples.

Another interesting instance of "growth" in apocalyptic nuance in the scrolls, this time in contrast to the New Testament, is the title given to the agent of salvation. In the latter he is, of course, the Messiah, Immanuel, Son of Man. Not one of these terms has an apocalyptic application in the scrolls. "Immanuel" seems to be an unique Christian interpretation of the Isaianic oracle (vii. 8), and the term, "Son of Man" appears to be significantly absent from the scrolls, thus providing another hint that in questions of identity the New Covenanters and the Early Christians are to be regarded as two quite distinct parties. Furthermore, the term Messiah, as used in the Warfare scroll, the Manual of Discipline and the Damascus Documents seems to have very few of the New Testament attributes, for here the Messiah is little more than the representative of his people, Aaron and Israel. On the other hand, part of the functions of the New Testament Messiah—Son of Man are performed in the scrolls by "the Elect". It is by means of him that "God will execute judgement on all the nations" (Hab. col. 5, ll. 3 ff.). The Righteous Teacher, too, has a special importance, approximating to a supra-mundane quality; he is "God's accredited exponent of the mysteries of the Prophets" (col. 2, l. 8), and God will deliver from judgement "all those who practice the Torah in the house of Judah, because of their affliction and their faith in the Righteous Teacher" (col. 8, ll. 1 ff.). It is not clear from the literature of the sect whether or not the Elect and the Righteous Teacher are to be regarded as one and the same person. In the Habakkuk commentary it would appear that they are the same, but in the Damascus Documents the Righteous Teacher is dead, whereas the Elect is the spiritual Head of the Community.¹

When we think of the history of typology and of loose apocalyptic interpretation throughout the centuries of Bible study in the Church, it might appear to us that the greatest danger which beset

¹ Cf. H. H. Rowley, op. cit. p. 34, n. 4.

apocalyptic as a literary convention was an indiscriminate use of the text from which the new interpretations were obtained : the fact that the danger was avoided is due to two things. Firstly, "interpretation" was not a common possession, practised by all and sundry, but rather the closely guarded privilege of the Teacher and of the community which subscribed to the teaching of the Founder, and regarded it as divinely inspired. Secondly, the text which was interpreted was accorded the prestige of a sacred oracle. The first of these points indicates the significance of such documents as the Manual of Discipline and the Damascus Documents. There are frequent references here to punishment for heterodoxy, and exhortations to abide by the teaching of the sect. The community, says the Manual of Discipline (col. 5, l. 4), preserves "the divinely guided decision with regard to every matter, whether Torah or property or laws . . ." and some lines later "no member of the community may answer according to non-conformists in regard to any teaching or laws" (ll. 15 f.). "When one enters into the covenant . . . he shall be tested in his understanding and his deeds in Torah, in accordance with the views of the sons of Aaron who are dedicated to establish His covenant in the community, and in accordance with the views of . . . Israel, who are dedicated to turn to His covenant" (ll. 20 f.). "The Covenanters shall be ruled by the first laws with which the men of the community began to be disciplined until the coming of a Prophet and the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel" (col. 9, ll. 10 f.). Likewise in the church of New Testament times the test of orthodoxy became stringent, as we see especially from the Catholic Epistles, where the anti-Christ is marked by his false doctrine. 2 Peter ii. 1 ff., refers to the rising of "false prophets among the people, as among you also there shall be false teachers who shall privily bring in destructive heresies . . . bringing upon themselves swift destruction."¹ In

¹ The affinities between this passage and the scrolls are rather striking. There is reference in v. 5. to a "preacher of Righteousness" and an apocalyptic flight connected with the motif of a Noah *redivivus* in which there occurs a cataclysm of mixed fire and flood in a manner strongly reminiscent of one of the Songs of Thanksgiving. Cf. further, G. Vermes, "La communauté de la Nouvelle Alliance". *Analecta Lovaniensia Bib. et Or. ser. ii, Fasc. 22* (1951), pp. 5 ff.

New Testament apocalyptic, the important part played by the interpretation of Scripture, as instituted by Jesus himself, and as developed in the formation of the Kerygma and the Gospels, naturally led to a fairly rigid orthodoxy during the first century, and the authoritative attitude ascribed to orthodoxy in the later New Testament Writings and in the sub-apostolic age indicates the measure of the need for it. A similar development can be assumed for the New Covenanters.

The second safeguard against heterodoxy was the authority which was inherent to the Scriptures themselves: that is, since the Scriptures contained the oracles whose interpretation meant the realization of salvation, those same Scriptures would be regarded as Holy Writ. On this point, however, a difficulty arises concerning the question of whether or not there was a recognized canon of Scripture at the time in question, and if there was, whether the sect, as dissenters from orthodox Judaism accepted it.

In the first place it is to be noted that the New Covenanters were not particularly concerned with the Prophetic books at the expense of other books in the old Testament. The number of fragments from the Torah which have been recovered from the caves testify that this part of the Old Testament was not only acceptable to them but was in constant use, and the Manual of Discipline frequently asserts that the Torah was basic to their creed and practice. That the Prophets, too, were divinely given "mysteries" requires no further demonstration. It is significant, however, that non-canonical books were also used by the sect, for there are abundant quotations in the scrolls, not only from the present books of the Apocrypha, but also from the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Consequently we can visualize the Biblical literature of the New Covenanters as covering a far wider range than either the Hebrew or Alexandrine canons.

This is not the occasion for a full discussion of what exactly is meant by the Hebrew canon as opposed to the Alexandrine, but it is relevant to observe that the distinction between the two has sometimes been exaggerated. Because of such passages as Baba Bathra 14b-15a we think of the former as a closed, well-defined corpus in contrast to the rather more amorphous Septuagint canon. The latter, of course, was the Bible of the

Hellenistic Diaspora and of the Early Church, and, it may be assumed because of occasional quotations, was also used by the New Covenanters. But it remains an open question whether even orthodox Jews of both the Babylonian and Palestinian traditions either ignored or wholly rejected the Septuagint. The Rabbinic disputes concerning canonicity generally deal with books which were ultimately accepted, such as Song of Songs, Esther, and Ezekiel. Categorical statements prohibiting the use of certain books and versions in synagogue worship, though they mainly concern books now found in the Apocrypha and the New Testament, can also be paralleled by prohibitions about the use of certain books now found in the Hebrew Hagiographa. Indeed, the introduction of the Five Megilloth into the synagogue lectionary for the festivals is probably later than the Mishnah. Again, despite unfavourable comments and decisions by the Rabbis, the contents of books in the present Apocrypha were quite frequently introduced into Rabbinic debates: numerous quotations attributed to the Tannaim also occur in the Apocrypha, and in Baba Kamma 92b the book of Ecclesiasticus is actually listed among the Hagiographa. Furthermore, in Midrash Rabba to Esther, which comes from a period later than the tenth century A.D., additions to the canonical Esther are included practically verbatim as they appear in the Septuagint. Consequently, the fact that the New Covenanters quote sayings which are paralleled by apocryphal books need not in itself be very significant; it may still be assumed that their Bible contained the canonical Law and Prophets, but also included some of the books of the Apocrypha in the same loose sense as they were included in Rabbinic religious literature.

But orthodox Jews and the Covenanters part company most clearly in their attitude to books in the present Pseudepigrapha. Affinities between them and the scrolls are numerous and far-reaching: but orthodox Judaism always refused to countenance them. They were never included in any list of Old Testament books, Alexandrine or Jewish, nor was there any Rabbinic disputation about them. As G. F. Moore¹ says, it

¹ *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era*, Cambridge, Mass. (1927), p. 127.

does not appear that the authorities ever felt it necessary even to repudiate them.¹ Christians, however, apparently made use of them and cherished them from a very early time: there are obvious contacts between *Pseudepigrapha* and the New Testament itself, and still more with the sub-Apostolic period. It was the Christian church that transmitted the extant copies of these works until the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered. On the other hand, so far as I am aware, we have no extant apocalyptic literature preserved or transmitted by Rabbinic Judaism until the sixth or seventh century A.D. It is possible that it was on this issue of accepting an apocalyptic interpretation to the Scriptures, rather than a legalistic one, that tension between orthodox Judaism and Sectarians became acute, and the latter were expelled from the synagogues. Be that as it may, it is evident that in Biblical matters there was a fundamental difference of standpoint between Rabbinic Judaism and the Sectarians. Consequently, the fact that the former declared this or that book to be non-canonical does not necessarily mean that the New Covenanters regarded them as such, and were willing to accept the Rabbinic decree. Indeed, it is possible that the Sectarians did not subscribe to the idea of canonicity in any strictly Rabbinic sense, for, to judge by the contents of the *Manual of Discipline* and the *Damascus Documents*, it would hardly be consistent with their way of life to spend their energies in arguments about whether or not this or that book "defiled the hands". They were far more concerned with the agony of their times and with "the two ways of living" than with the academic disputation of Rabbinic academies. They were Sectarians, and the available evidence seems to indicate that they diverged from orthodoxy mainly, if not solely, on the grounds of Biblical interpretation, and that they either ignored or, indeed, were totally ignorant of the Rabbinic debates on canonicity.

What the New Covenanters had as their source of inspiration was a traditionally treasured body of literature, which, possibly for centuries, had been regarded as the Word of God—divinely

¹ M. Buttenwieser, *J. E.* vol. 1, art. "Apocalyptic", argues that Rabbis did make use of apocalyptic terms and ideas, but this does not affect the above conclusion about the acceptance of apocalyptic literature.

given oracles of salvation, and which were capable of application to times of woe. It would appear, then, that the prestige of the Scripture for the New Covenanters lay in the oracular nature of the contents rather than in doctrinaire assessments and declarations by the Rabbis.

II

Because of the independence of the Sectarians over against orthodox Rabbinic Judaism, it now becomes necessary to survey the Biblical texts as transmitted by the New Covenanters. The texts belong, of course, to two groups: firstly, those texts transmitted in quotations and particularly in commentaries such as the Habakkuk scroll, and secondly, the simple texts of the Isaiah scrolls and of other fragments of the Old Testament. The nature of the text transmitted in the former group, though deliberately departing from the Massoretic text on occasions, shows it to be the same, by and large, as the standard text form.¹ It is interesting to note, however, that the disposition of sections for comment in the Habakkuk scroll vary considerably in length, and it would not appear that the interpreter in any way adhered to a scheme or division of the text such as might be postulated for the use of the Methurgeman in the more orthodox Rabbinic circles, who targumized after each verse or every three verses.

Greater importance attaches to the longer texts, especially the copies of Isaiah. Although the number of Isaiah texts recovered from 'Ain Feshka and other caves in the vicinity are increasing, our present concern must be in the main with DS1a and b, for the simple reason that until facsimiles of the other manuscripts are published, it is impossible to offer adequate comments. It is unfortunate, too, that the manuscript DS1a happens to be such a poor one: indeed one sometimes wonders whether it is not one of the main services of this document that it can be used as a demonstration for students of how scribal errors and consequent textual corruption actually happened! Nevertheless, the scroll is a full length copy of one of the major books of the Old

¹ For a further discussion, cf. the present writer's article, "Some observations on the Damascus Document and the Dead Sea Scrolls", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. 34, no. 2 (1952), pp. 371 ff.

Testament and as such supplies us with considerable information on matters relative to the present discussion.

The significant fact that must be remembered is that the scroll belonged to a non-Rabbinic party, and consequently it is at best precarious to introduce Rabbinic standards and instructions to explain details in the appearance of the scroll. It is well-known that apart from having its own peculiar orthography, the text of DS¹a has a number of textual divergences from the Massoretic Text : it appears to the present writer, however, to be a *non-sequitur* to argue that DS¹a for this reason must be regarded as having preceded the creation or emergence of the Massoretic text at the end of the first century A.D. Surely, it was by reason of the authority of the Rabbis that the Massoretic text was accepted, and since the Sectarians defied Rabbinic authority they would also presumably have acted independently in the matter of text-form and scribal activity, and perpetuated, or even " created ", their text form quite independently of the Massoretes. Furthermore, it would appear that indications of this independence are to be found in the scroll itself, and since some of them have occasioned considerable argument, they may briefly be outlined here. Firstly, column formation and the scribal features of the scroll show that the transmission ignored the Massoretic customs. The Babylonian Talmud Menahoth 30a states that a line of text should not exceed a stipulated length in the manuscript, and side-margins are to be strictly measured. The scribe of DS¹a did not observe these injunctions, for sometimes the lines are crammed and at other times there are gaps of considerable length. He was innately an untidy and careless scribe, but it is also obvious that he was ignorant of Massoretic scribal regulations. The same Talmudic passage states that word division should be indicated by a space sufficient for two letters. The scroll does show a spatial separation of words, but the space varies in size and sometimes there is none ; in fact, the scribe shows considerable intelligence in this latter respect, for, quite frequently, thought units, such as constructs and absolutes, nouns and adjectives, nouns with particles, run together without separation. The next example of independence is the use of dots for indicating scribal errors. Genesis Rabbah 48.15

states that three dots under a word or manuscript indicate its deletion. But the DS_Ia scribe was far more liberal in the use of dots for this purpose, sometimes surrounding whole words with them, sometimes entering dots above the erroneous consonants, yet again sometimes below; he also sometimes dispenses with dots and boldly crosses out or erases wrong words, and still worse tries sometimes to correct a letter as it stands, leaving it indecipherable. Again, the use of *matres lectionis* seems to indicate a certain freedom by the scribe. There is no consistency in their use in the scroll itself, for, as Professor Kahle has shown,¹ they are more abundant in the second half of the scroll than in the first half. Furthermore, the other manuscripts of Isaiah show variations, e.g. DS_Ib has far fewer vowel letters than DS_Ia, and one of the recently discovered Isaiah fragments has likewise comparatively few orthographic divergences from the Massoretic text. It must be admitted that the Massoretic tradition itself shows an obvious absence of any fixed tradition in the matter of *matres lectionis* in the Prophets, as even a casual glance at the apparatus criticus of Kennicott or de Rossi will show. It is true that the account of establishing the minutiae of the Temple Torah, given in Mishnah Ta'anith 4.2, includes decisions about vowel letters, but it is unlikely that any attempt was made to establish the *matres lectionis* of the text outside the Torah, and vocalization was largely left to the individual scribe until the invention of pointing. Nevertheless, the extent to which DS_Ia diverges from the Massoretic text shows that the whole tradition of recitation ran along lines quite different from those of the Massoretes.

Finally, the vexed question of paragraphing seems to be capable of a solution that supports the submission that the scribe of DS_Ia represents a non-Massoretic tradition. The Mishnah Megilla 4.4 refers to the existence of paragraphs, *parashiyoth*, in a way that assumes that they were well-known to Jewish scribes. In Babylonian Talmud Shabbath 103b, two kinds of paragraph, "open" (*pethuḥah*) and "closed" (*sethumah*) are mentioned, and again the inference is that they are considerably earlier than

¹ *Die hebräischen Handschriften aus der Höhle* (Stuttgart, 1951), pp. 74 ff.

Talmudic times. Professor Driver¹ surmises paragraph division "to have been part of the work of ordering the sacred text in consequence of the fixing of the Canon c. A.D. 90-120", but obviously all Biblical scribes did not adopt the Rabbinic rule if Professor Driver's surmise is correct, for, on his own showing, Greek papyri from the second and third centuries A.D. showed only a sporadic "increase in the marking of verses and paragraphs".² Furthermore, there is evidence that the Massoretic tradition itself lacks uniformity in paragraph division, which is unlikely if the tradition is to be traced back to such an authority as Rabbi Aqiba. As Rabbi Freedman³ states, Maimonides and Asheri differ on the definition of *pethuhah* and *sethumah* paragraphs even as late as the Middle Ages. Again, out of some eighty fragments of Isaiah texts from the Cairo Genizah deposited in the University Library of Cambridge, at least half show divergences in the two types of paragraph. Indeed one need not go far in comparing the Leningrad Codex of the Prophets with *Biblia Hebraica* to see a similar divergence, and when C. D. Ginsburg⁴ complains that "in *Isaiah* Dr. Baer (in his edition of the Massoretic text) has omitted twenty four sections", what he reveals is that the manuscripts used by Baer lack uniformity. It would seem then, that the Massoretic tradition was comparatively lax in the matter of an exact transmission of the two types of paragraph. These divergences, however, are on the whole concerned with "open" and "closed" paragraphs and it would appear reasonable to refer to a Massoretic tradition of paragraph division. Indeed, in the admitted absence of definite proof, there seems to be nothing inherently impossible in a sense division having been introduced into Hebrew manuscripts at a very early time. Strophic construction was essential to Hebrew verse; prophetic oracles were normally very brief. Word division was customary as far back as the Mesha and Siloam

¹ *The Hebrew Scrolls from the Neighbourhood of Jericho and the Dead Sea* (Oxford, 1951), pp. 43 f.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Soncino Talmud*, Shabb., 103b (1938), p. 498, n.

⁴ *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (London, 1897), pp. 14 f.

inscriptions; again, the Gezer Calendar normally begins each fresh item with a new line.

The division of Isaiah into paragraphs in the DS1a manuscript has been examined in detail by Dr. Curt Kuhl¹ and this excellent survey would have sufficed for the present purpose were it not for Dr. Kuhl's adoption of a theory that the Massoretic division of paragraphs into "open" and "closed" was late² and that, consequently, the scroll makes no distinction between the two types but has presumably only "open" paragraphs. Dr. Kuhl, however, recognizes the existence of fairly long gaps in the lines and proceeds to discuss them, along with much smaller gaps, as sentence endings. Admittedly, these spaces are irregular in size, but it would appear to the present writer that the distinction between the space for a "closed" paragraph and that for a sentence ending is reasonably clear, and that we can postulate for the scroll, as for the Massoretic transmission, a dual paragraph division. If we turn to DS1b, which is a much neater manuscript, there is quite definite evidence of a "closed" paragraph in a passage³ where it coincides with a similar paragraph in *Biblia Hebraica*. In another portion of the same scroll,⁴ a space in the line again indicates a "closed" section coinciding with the Massoretic text.

Assuming, then, the presence in DS1a of both "open" and "closed" paragraphs, a comparison of the scroll with *BH*⁵ shows the following extent of similarity and divergence:

identical "open" paragraphs :	34
identical "closed" paragraphs :	33
divergent "open" paragraphs :	56
divergent "closed" paragraphs :	40

There are over 100 additional places where DS1a has indented "open" and the M.T. has "closed" paragraphs. The measure

¹ "Schreibereigentümlichkeiten. Bemerkungen zur Jesajarolle (DS1a)", *Vet. Test.*, vol. ii, no. 4 (1952), pp. 307-33. Cf. pp. 312 f.

² He quotes in his support R. H. Pfeiffer's suggested date c. 500 A.D.

³ In the frontispiece to the *Biblical Encyclopedia* (Hebrew) (Musad Bialik, Jerusalem, vol. i, 1950). The whole passage consists of Is. lvii. 17-lix. 8, and the space is after lvii. 20.

⁴ In *Meg. Gen.* vol. ii. Plate XVII, col. a; consisting of Is. xlvi. 17-xlii. 7, and l. 7-li. 8. The space is after xlvi. 22.

of agreement between DS1b and the others, however, in the very short passages available for collation, is considerable, for in ten paragraphs, DS1a and b have an "open" paragraph to the Massoretic text "closed", another "open" where the Massoretic text has no paragraph division, and DS1b agrees once with the Massoretic Text in having no paragraph where DS1a has a "closed" section.

It may again be argued, as with the *matres lectionis*, that because the Dead Sea Isaiah scrolls reveal a comparative lack of agreement, and because there is also a lack of agreement in the Massoretic tradition of paragraph transmission, the appeal to this argument is invalidated. In theory this is true, but it must also be allowed that compared with the vacillations within the two types of transmission, the disagreements between DS1a and the Massoretic text are very strong indeed. The impression one gets is that the plethora of open paragraphs in DS1a over against the Massoretic text is almost as impressive as is that of *matres lectionis*. Consequently on both points, it appears plausible to argue that the scribal characteristics of DS1a point away from Rabbinic authority and that the transmission belongs to the sect themselves.

Assuming then, that the transmission and scribal characteristics of DS1a show it to be independent of the orthodox textual transmission, it becomes necessary to examine the text of the scroll from this point of view. The first fact to be emphasized is that the text of the scroll is not a good one—quite apart from the unsatisfactory performance of the scribe. Soon after the first publication of the scroll in facsimile, Professor H. M. Orlinsky¹ expressed his view that the scroll comes from a manuscript which was copied from memory and is an unreliable oral variation on the theme of what came to be known as the Massoretic text.² A somewhat similar conclusion appears likely to the present

¹ "The St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll", *J.B.L.*, vol. lxix, no. 2 (1950), pp. 149-66. This article was briefly criticized by Professor W. Baumgartner, "Der palästinische Handschriftenfund. Zweiter Bericht", *T.R.*, vol. 19, no. 2 (1951), pp. 97-154 (cf. p. 115), but in a series of articles "Studies in the St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll", especially in *J.Q.R.*, vol. xliv, no. 4 (1953), pp. 329-40, Orlinsky has taken up explicitly the points raised by Baumgartner.

² Op. cit. p. 165.

writer—though with a very different implication, and from a very different approach. It would appear very unlikely that Professor Orlinsky is correct in assuming an oral *Vorlage* for the scroll. Professor Kahle's discovery of two distinct prototypes¹ for the present scroll disproves it. Furthermore, as Dr. Curt Kuhl² has shown, a number of different scribes seem to have been engaged on the writing of the scroll—quite apart from the corrector—all of whom belonged to the same scriptorium, and it is unlikely that an established transmission of this kind would have perpetuated a text which was demonstrably unsatisfactory.

Nevertheless, there are indications which clearly point to a close relationship between the text and what we know as the Massoretic text, and prominent among them are the correctors' efforts, which were directed towards making the relationship still closer. It is well known that in a great number of passages, about sixty in all, obvious textual corruptions and divergences from the Massoretic text have been amended with a resultant alignment with the M.T. This desire for agreement seems to be particularly obvious in the corrections of the Divine Name in its various forms. An examination of the scroll shows that in certain passages, viz. in col. 3, ll. 20, 24, 25; col. 7, l. 27; col. 22, l. 20; col. 24, l. 25; col. 52, l. 18, supralineal additions have been made which bring about an uniformity with the precise form of the Divine Name in the Massoretic text. Other places, especially concerned with the Divine Name, have occasioned considerable discussion.³

¹ Op. cit. pp. 72 f.

² Op. cit. p. 332.

³ Viz. col. 33, l. 7; col. 35, l. 15, i.e. Isa. xl. 7 and xlvi. 6. These passages are still enigmatic and all attempts hitherto to explain the substitution of four or five dots for the Divine Name are rather easily refuted. The early suggestion that the scribe was timorous of entering the Ineffable Name cannot stand because the scribe so obviously overcame his temerity in hundreds of other places. Another suggestion is that the space was marked off so that the name could be entered in archaic letters, but why have archaic writing here and not elsewhere? Dr. S. A. Birnbaum, *The Qumrân (Dead Sea) Scrolls and Palaeography*, B.A.S.O.R. Supp. nos. 13-14 (1952), p. 26, has argued that archaic script in any Biblical scroll with square script would be most unexpected, for the usage was limited to non-Biblical scrolls, e.g. the Habakkuk scroll. But it is noteworthy that in this scroll it is only the Biblical passages that have the Divine Name in archaic

This desire by the party for uniformity with the present Massoretic text is remarkable when we realize how unstable the Massoretic tradition itself was in the matter of the Name. The *apparatus criticus* of *BH*³ shows an abundance of divergences, not only between the Versions and the Hebrew text, but also among Hebrew manuscripts. A random reference to Kennicott's edition of Isa. iv. 4 shows that for the Massoretic אָדָנִי sixteen manuscripts have the Tetragrammaton, and another conflates. To Isa. vi. 1, Kennicott enumerates about fifty manuscripts which read the Tetragrammaton instead of אָדָנִי, and the note in *BH*³ makes the number about one hundred. In Isa. viii. 18, again according to Kennicott, the Tetragrammaton has been replaced by אֱלֹהִים in three manuscripts, and by אָדָנִי in one. Of the Cairo Genizah texts of Isaiah there are variations, mainly but not solely, between אָדָנִי יְהוָה and אָדָנִי, in about twenty out of the eighty fragments in the Cambridge University Library, and there is one instance where אֱלֹהִים is substituted for יְהוָה throughout the manuscript.

In view of this considerable lack of uniformity in the Massoretic tradition, it is still more difficult to account for the fact that the Divine Name in DS¹ should be corrected, at a time probably considerably later than the original writing, to bring the form into exact agreement with the present M.T. Unfortunately, the revision is not a thorough one, even in the matter of Divine Names. Furthermore, the general orthography in the corrections, especially where lengthy lacunae are filled by the corrector, on the whole agrees with that of the scroll and not with the M.T. Again, there is no attempt to bring proper names into line with the Massoretic tradition ; for, apart from the well-known divergence in the names of Isaiah, and Hezekiah, we have דִּיבָן for M.T. דִּימָן¹ which corresponds with the form in the Vulgate and is probably correct : and again, in five places דְּרַמְשָׁק² occurs for M.T. דְּמַשָּׁק, which is the form of the name in Chronicles.

script. Dr. Curt Kuhl suggests (op. cit. pp. 321 f.) that in both places the scribe observes the Rabbinic regulation in Bab. Talm. Menaḥoth 30b, that the Tetragrammaton should not be written above the line. But elsewhere in the scroll it is so written. In column 41, l. 14, a supralineal insertion departs from M.T.

¹ Isa. xv. 9 (cf. M.T. Isa. xv. 2).

² vii. 8 (bis) ; viii. 4 ; x. 9 ; xvii. 1, 3.

Nevertheless, the text used for correction was nearer the M.T. than any other known to us. Furthermore, DS1b, well-known for its near-identity with the M.T., and the existence of other Biblical manuscripts from the caves which "support" the Massoretic text-form, seem to indicate the existence of a standard text for the New Covenanters which seldom departed from the textual tradition preserved for us by the Massoretes. Since, however, we must assume that in the nature of things this text was not the one drawn up by the Massoretes, it is necessary to seek another provenance for it. We must also assume that the text had acquired a high prestige among the New Covenanters, otherwise it would not have been used for the correcting of DS1a. Consequently we can only conclude that there was in existence among the New Covenanters a standard text which in general coincided with the Massoretic text, and which exercised an authority similar to that enjoyed by that text, in the orthodox parties, but at a much earlier period, and among another, quite independent sect of Jews. It is significant that in a recent article on the text of DS1a Professor M. H. Segal¹ has felt himself constrained to postulate the creation of such an authoritative text, which he assumes to be the Massoretic text, during a period about two hundred years earlier than the time of Aqiba and the Council of Jamnia. The present writer would venture to disagree with Professor Segal, however, on two scores. Firstly, as is evident from the preceding pages, to attribute this text to the Massoretes or their direct predecessors is in no way necessary, nor even desirable. Secondly, the reasons adduced for attributing the textual activity of the Massoretes to the period of the Maccabees are not very convincing. What the Jews tried to do in those days—and succeeded to a degree—was to preserve Biblical texts from confiscation, not from scribal errors. It would appear more plausible to argue that the text-form which the Massoretes, among others, preserved and standardized had been in existence long before the Massoretic period in the stricter sense of this term, and that the Biblical texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially DS1b, and the correctors' texts in DS1a, preserve specimens of it.

¹ "The Promulgation of the Authoritative Text of the Hebrew Bible", *JBL*, vol. lxii, no. 1 (1953), pp. 35-47.

Scandinavian exponents insist that there had been a strict oral transmission of Biblical texts from a very early time—possibly from the fifth or fourth century B.C. ; it appears equally possible to postulate the existence, at an equally early period of a standard written text, transmitted amidst the chaos of *Vulgärtexte*, and which was used, among other purposes, for correcting those texts. True, this standard text does not appear to have enjoyed the final authority among the New Covenanters that the Massoretic text claimed in the Rabbinic tradition, though, even here, one's views are modified after an examination of Cairo Genizah fragments. But obviously the interest of the New Covenanters was not so strongly centred on textual transmission : their concern was for exegesis and interpretation ; and when the exegetes so desired they felt they could with impunity depart from the traditional text and make use of slight though significant modifications. The conclusion to be presented here, consequently, is that, despite the freak readings of DS1a, the Biblical texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls do indicate the existence of a pre-Massoretic Hebrew text which, to all intents and purposes, agrees with the present M.T. This text was treasured and accepted by elements among the Jewish people who rejected the authority of orthodox Judaism, but were nevertheless passionately attached to the Jewish Scriptures and their interpretation. In other words, the text which we know as the Massoretic is probably very much older than the Massoretic period, and was accepted by Palestinian Jews of all shades of belief and custom.

THE RYLANDS COLLECTION OF GREEK AND LATIN PAPYRI

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READER IN DOCUMENTARY PAPYROLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

PAPYROLOGY is commonly regarded as a technical and forbidding study, of concern only to a few specialists, and it must be admitted that its name does nothing to dispel this impression. But once we paraphrase it as "the study of whatever was written on papyrus" and remind ourselves that anything could be, indeed anything was written on papyrus from a poem of Pindar or a book of the Bible to an invitation to dinner or a crossword puzzle, we shall appreciate that there are few if any pursuits that bring us in closer touch with every aspect of the ancient world during the millennium between Alexander the Great and the Islamic conquests ; indeed, in one important sense the period of time covered by the papyri is greater, since throughout that millennium the literature of earlier ages was read and studied and to some extent preserved. It is of course the case that the reconstitution and decipherment of papyri is a skilled and often technical business as is the interpretation of many of the legal and administrative texts, but it may confidently be said that no other branch of classical studies offers so wide a variety of subjects.

Of this variety the Rylands collection, the last volume of whose catalogue was published last year¹ is fully representative ; although in point of size it cannot compete with the great collections of the Berlin, British, or Cairo Museums, in point of

¹ In this article the papyri are referred to throughout by their serial number ; they are divided between the different volumes of the catalogue as follows :

Vol. I. : Literary Texts (nos. 1-61), ed. A. S. Hunt (1911) ;

Vol. II : Documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods (nos. 62-456),
ed. J. de M. Johnson, Victor Martin, and A. S. Hunt (1915) ;

Vol. III : Theological and Literary Texts (nos. 457-551), ed. C. H. Roberts
(1938) ;

Vol. IV : Documents of the Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine Periods
(nos. 552-717), ed. C. H. Roberts and E. G. Turner (1952).

quality it stands very high. There are two features of it which would strike anyone familiar with the published volumes. Most collections, whether acquired by purchase or excavation, contain a large amount of indifferent material, as can be observed when their publication draws to a close ; that this is not the case with the Rylands collection is because the papyri were acquired by scholars of the eminence of A. S. Hunt, B. P. Grenfell, and J. Rendel Harris, with the result that both the level of interest of the texts and that of their state of preservation is singularly high. And secondly, although, as is only to be expected, the Greek papyri far out number the Latin, yet the proportion of Latin texts is unusually large ; they include poetry and prose, legal and military, public and private texts and enable the Library's collection in this field to challenge comparison with that in any other library.

The interest and importance of the theological papyri needs no emphasis. The Library enjoys the unique distinction of owning the earliest known manuscript of the New Testament (no. 457) and of the Greek Old Testament, if indeed the latter (no. 458) is not the oldest fragment of the Bible in any language. Since their republication in the third volume of the Catalogue there is little new to add ; later discoveries and renewed palaeographical study have tended to confirm the placing of the fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the first half of the second century (Deissmann and Wilcken both remarked that closely similar hands could be found in the reign of Hadrian). The Deuteronomy papyrus has the additional interest that it illustrates what we may call their "environmental" as well as their textual value. Just as a man may be known by the books he keeps, so the heterogeneous theological papyri give us a picture of Christian, or (as in this case) Jewish, society in Egypt which we could hardly get otherwise ; different aspects of thought and life, official and private, learned and vulgar, orthodox and heretical are all reflected. Thus not only was no. 458 found gummed together with other texts Greek and demotic, literary and documentary (one of them was a scrap of Homer, *Iliad* I), to form mummy cartonage, but before it went to the scrap merchant its verso was used to take a private or official account. A

strictly orthodox Jewish community would have carefully preserved its Roll of the Law from such contamination (as was done e.g. in the Cairo Geniza); this papyrus clearly had its origin in a mixed Jewish-Gentile community in which Homer and the law were not necessarily incompatibles.¹ This text also gives us some readings which are known otherwise only from some much later manuscripts, often regarded as inferior; somewhat ironically, not the least use of this and other very early manuscripts (e.g. nos. 1 and 5) is to underline the fact that the importance of the date of manuscripts for textual criticism can be overrated.

It is not perhaps always appreciated that in no. 5 the Library possesses another second-century Christian text, the earliest witness to the Epistle to Titus.² Not all the biblical papyri formed part of ordinary reading manuscripts; thus no. 4 is an extract (dating from the sixth or seventh century) from the Epistle to the Romans, clearly meant to be read in church; no. 3 contains Psalm 90 which was designed to be worn as an amulet to protect the wearer against the powers of evil. The Psalms were frequently used for this purpose; another instance of this practice is no. 461 on which the thread with which it was sewn together after being rolled up still survives, so that if it could not be read it could at least be easily carried. In this category may be classed no. 462, a collection of phrases from the Psalms, reproduced in order but with many omissions and no regard for sense. It is worth noting that such texts are never earlier than the Byzantine period; all belong to a period after the Peace of the Church when Christianity was widely spread and strongly diluted.

A different and more creditable use of the Bible is to be found in no. 467, a fragment of a Book of Testimonies, of which another piece, immediately adjoining no. 467, exists in the Oslo collection. This is the only specimen in the papyri of such a book, composed of Messianic texts from the Old Testament; it is a rough production and may have been put together by the preacher

¹ Among documents referring to Jews are nos. 578 and 590 (both of the Ptolemaic period) and no. 613 (a Latin letter of the second century A.D.).

² For the date of this papyrus see H. I. Bell—T. C. Skeat, *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel*, p. 6.

who used it. Liturgical texts are well represented, among others by an important and early text of the Liturgy of St. Mark (otherwise known as the Liturgy of Alexandria, no. 465) and by a small fragment, no. 470, containing a prayer addressed to the Virgin. It presents a peculiar palaeographical problem but cannot in any case be later than the fifth century and may most probably be placed in the fourth; some of the peculiar letter shapes are explicable if it was an engraver's model. This prayer was identified by Mercennier and later and independently by Stegmüller, to whom the best restoration of the text is due, as a prayer famous in east and west and best known from its opening words as *Sub tuum praesidium confugimus*.¹ As it stands no. 470 is not only the earliest witness to the text but is the earliest example of a prayer addressed to the Virgin.

Another text which should be mentioned here is no. 6, the earliest extant copy of the Nicene Creed, dating from the sixth century; it does not quite coincide with any of the extant versions and was preceded by a statement of the authority on which the creed rested, in which there was a reference, unfortunately obscure, to Rome. Hymnology is well represented; there is an acrostic hymn celebrating Christmas (no. 7), with a refrain to each verse and two hymns of the kind known as troparia (no. 466), very early examples of this genre. The papyrus on which these were written probably served as a choir slip; it may date from after the Arab conquest and is one of the latest Greek papyri in the Library. One of the two hymns is in honour of St. Theodore Stratelates to whom a church in Arsinoe was dedicated; this may provide a clue to the provenance of the papyrus. Further evidence of the cult of the saints is to hand in no. 10, an unidentified text containing a quotation from the New Testament; the subject may be the martyrdom of Lucian.

Heresy is represented by an unusually early text, a fragment dating from the early third century (no. 463) of the "Gospel according to Mary", a characteristic fiction of Gnostic theosophy of which the complete text is known to exist in Coptic, but has

¹ See O. Stegmüller in *Ztschr. f. Katholische Theologie*, 74 (1952), pp. 76 ff.

not yet been published. Of more general interest are two texts both of which are strictly documents but may more appropriately be considered here. The first (no. 469) is the latter part of a circular letter, almost certainly sent by the Patriarch of Alexandria to all the churches in his province warning them against the new religion of Mani. Mani died in Persia in A.D. 276 and this text, which may be assigned to the late third century, is the earliest evidence we possess of the church's reaction to the new danger. (How strong the Manichaeism later became in Egypt we know both from the literary sources and from the great find of Coptic Manichaeian papyri.) Other early opponents of Manichaeism are more concerned with his theology and cosmogony ; the writer of this epistle, addressing the ordinary Christian, is more at pains to emphasize its moral and practical consequences ; the Manichaeian attitude to the material world is condemned as a form of idolatry and their attack on the institution of marriage is refuted by quotations from the Bible. Altogether it is a singularly interesting example of a rare type of literature whose origin is to be traced back to St. Paul's Epistles. The other document (no. 12) reflects an earlier stage of the Church's struggle against a different enemy, the State. This is a certificate issued in the year A.D. 250 by the local authorities of the Arsinoite nome to the effect that the person presenting the document for certification had duly sacrificed to the gods, in other words, was either a pagan, or, if a Christian, was apostate. The initial lines of this contemporary witness to the Decian persecution (no. 12) run as follows :

To the commissioners of sacrifices from Aurelia Demos, illegitimate daughter of Aurelius Irenaeus, of the Quarter of the Helleneum. It has ever been my practice to sacrifice to the gods and now also I have in accordance with the edict made sacrifice and libation and tasted the offering in your presence. I request you to certify my statement.¹

One last theological text should be mentioned if only because it is unique. A few fragments of Latin versions of the Bible have been found among the papyri ; no 472 is notable in that it is a Latin Christian text earlier than any of the Latin biblical fragments, contains an unknown liturgical text and is a relic—

¹ Three other such certificates are published under no. 112.

the last page of a papyrus codex—of the earliest Latin Christian manuscript yet known. The difficulties of the text whose language is involved and obscure deserve more attention than they have yet received from liturgiologists.

Among the new poems recovered for Greek literature none of the first importance is housed in the Library but there are a number of minor pieces of interest. Tragedy is represented by no. 486, a column from a lost play, almost certainly *The Gathering of the Achaeans* by Sophocles, and Alexandrian literature by two fragments, one from the *Aitia* (no. 13), the other from the *Iambi* (no. 485), of Callimachus, the poet whose reconstitution has been one of the major tasks of classical scholarship in this century. A particularly intriguing text is no. 489, part of an elegiac poem on Hero and Leander; this famous story first occurs in Greek literature in the epyllion of Musaeus in the fifth century A.D.; is this papyrus a fragment of the Hellenistic poem known to and used by Latin poets of the classical age? In nos. 15 and 17 we find poetry of a more popular type, the first a lament by a girl whose lover has been pressed into service to fight as a *murmillo* in the arena and means with the help of a slave to try and buy him off, the second a lame epithalamium, full of reminiscences of better poems and probably composed for some local occasion. Last in this class we may notice a fragment of a late epic remarkable in that its subject is taken not from the *Iliad*, but the *Odyssey* (no. 487).

In prose the contribution of new texts made by the Library's papyri is more considerable. The student of Greek literature may be pardoned for thinking that in general oratory is sufficiently represented by our extant texts, but any addition to the slender corpus of the speeches of Lysias, in style and subject-matter the most attractive of the orators to the modern reader, is welcome. This is provided by no. 491 which, in collaboration with a London fragment of the same manuscript, provides us with part of a known speech (that on the murder of Eratosthenes) and with the beginning of another, *On behalf of Eryximachus*, whose very title was previously unknown. This Eryximachus was apparently one of the Athenian generals at the Pyrrhic victory of Arginusae in 406 B.C., and both the nature of the charge and the treatment

of it throw additional light on the state of feeling in Athens after the return of the democrats in 403 B.C.

In general, a fragment of an historical work is likely to be of more value than a fragment of the same size of an oratorical or philosophical text, and in new historical texts of small compass, but each of distinctive interest, the Library is rich. No. 18 deals with early Spartan history, a much debated text whose problems are still unsolved ; no. 490 belonged to a handsome manuscript (probably an *építome* of a *Philippica*) giving a factual account of the achievements of Philip of Macedon and was written less than a century after the events it describes ; no. 491, written in the second century B.C., is concerned with an account of some negotiations after the decisive battle of Zama in 202 B.C., while no. 473 is that rarity, a new Latin literary text. It is written in a magnificent Rustic Capital hand and formed part of a roll, or series of rolls, containing the *Histories* of Sallust ; the surviving fragment includes a description of Sardinia and also an account of a naval operation in the western Mediterranean. One other new prose text deserves a mention, a handsome manuscript of Aesop of the first century A.D. (no. 493) which throws some illumination on the debated problem of the relationship between our medieval tradition and the collection of fables known to antiquity.

Since literary papyri were in no way selected for survival as were, generally speaking, our medieval manuscripts, we should expect to find not only popular literature side by side with classical but also works of a technical or specialist nature. Thus in the Library's collection there are a number of medical papyri including a treatise on surgery of the third century A.D. of which the extant portion deals with a compound fracture of the shoulder (no. 529), a treatise on the physiology of the nervous system (no. 21), a collection of medical aphorisms (no. 530), a collection of medical receipts of the Ptolemaic period (no. 531) and a similar text (no. 29a) which includes a recipe for tooth-powder. Of the remaining scientific texts the most important is no. 522, a manuscript of the *List of Famous Cities* of the astronomer and geographer Ptolemy, the first papyrus of his works to be found in his native Egypt ; the name of each city is accompanied by its latitude and longitude and on the verso are some astronomical

calculations. These scientific texts are all Greek and show no sign of Egyptian influence ; the contrast is striking when we come to the pseudo-sciences of astrology and divination. One such papyrus (no. 523) is concerned to correlate the stages of human and animal life, also the habitat of some living creatures (here there is an interesting allusion to India), with the movements of the heavenly bodies ; this valuable information is regarded as a revelation given by an unnamed deity to his priests or devotees. Another text (no. 28) purports to give the rules for divining the future from the involuntary movements or twitchings of the human body—a form of divination specifically prohibited by the Christian Church just about the time this papyrus was written.

More respectable are the numerous grammatical or exegetical papyri several of which are, as we should expect, concerned with Homer. One of these may be mentioned as illustrating the value that the papyri occasionally have for the textual critic ; this is no. 532, a small fragment of the work by the scholar Harpocration on the vocabulary of the Attic orators.¹ Our earliest manuscript of this work is of the fourteenth century ; this small fragment of the second or third century supplies two new readings both of which are probably correct (one had already been conjectured by a modern scholar) and in one place quotes (as our mediaeval manuscripts do not) the actual words of an ancient historian. Even grammatical tables have a certain marginal interest if only as illustrating how stereotyped and unimaginative ancient teaching often was ; it must have been a humourless grammarian who selected the verb *I sail* for conjugation in active, middle and passive in all moods, tenses and persons, the dual included (no. 534).

To the activities of the Greek schoolmaster in Egypt (joined in the fourth century A.D. by a Latin colleague) we are indebted for a number of our literary texts, notably for many of our Homers which we must admit we should be glad to exchange for something else. (But from this category we must exclude no. 53, the substantial and important remains of a third century codex

¹ On Harpocration's connection with Oxyrhynchus (the probable provenance of this papyrus) see E. G. Turner's discussion of a letter from the Oxyrhynchus collection in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 38 (1952), p. 92.

which once held the entire *Odyssey*.) A special category of school books is represented by Latin classical texts with a Greek translation on the opposite page, clearly as popular in Byzantine Egypt as Loebs are today. Of these the Library owns a Cicero in *Catilinam* (no. 61), and an *Aeneid I* in which, as the translation is based on a Virgilian dictionary which gave one, and only one, equivalent for each Latin word, the results sometimes have an unconscious humour. Here also should be mentioned a Cicero, *Divinatio* with Greek glosses, which incidentally gives us an important new reading (no. 477), and a Greek translation of an unknown Latin author (no. 62).

But attractive and important as are the fragments of classical and theological literature, the major contribution of papyrology to classical studies lies in the discovery of thousands of documentary papyri, many of which, unlike the literary papyri, are complete. Nothing resembling them has been found elsewhere;¹ nothing else (not even the inscriptions which are both more limited in their range and were *intended* to survive) takes us so closely or intimately into the lives of the ordinary people of the Hellenistic or Roman ages as these chance survivals from the desert fringe of Egypt—business papers, legal deeds, files of local government offices, public records, private letters and memoranda. But their very variety and, in the case of the legal and public documents, their complex and technical nature, do not make it easy to give a general description. The Library's collection is both fully representative of all periods except the very latest and includes some specimens that are the equal, whether in state of preservation or in inherent interest, of those in any other collection. The series of taxation documents in the second volume of the catalogue (including some carbonized papyri from the Mendesian nome in the Delta, especially valuable

¹ This statement needs some qualification; apart from papyri written in, e.g. Asia or Italy and found in Egypt, mention should be made of the Avroman parchments published by E. H. Minns (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxxv (1915), pp. 22 ff.), the parchments and papyri found at Dura-Europos on the Euphrates (for a general description of these see C. Bradford Welles in Otto-Wenger, *Papyri und Altertumswissenschaft* (Munich, 1934)), and lastly the find made last year in Transjordan of Greek, Aramaic, and Latin documents on papyrus and parchment of which, as yet, only the scantiest information is available.

as we know relatively so little of Lower Egypt), the contracts relating to land tenure and cultivation, legal deeds such as wills or marriage contracts, are of the first importance for the historian concerned to study the centralized bureaucratic state of the Ptolemies, the exploitation of Egypt by the Romans, or the quasi-feudal society of the Byzantine epoch; but their value lies in the contribution they make to a mosaic pieced together from a great variety of sources and cannot be adequately represented here. All that can be done here is to give some small indication of their variety and interest.

The Library is fortunate in possessing seventeen papyri from the great archive of Zenon, the estate manager and personal representative of the Chancellor of Egypt in the middle of the third century B.C., a time when Greek soldiers, business men, and adventurers were changing the shape of Egypt; it was equally fortunate in securing C. C. Edgar to edit them.¹ They are a very small part of the total archive, but palaeographically and linguistically they fill a gap in the Library's collections. Among other Ptolemaic documents may be mentioned no. 577, a petition from an embalmer of the Labyrinth (the great temple of Amemhet III near Hawara) protesting against the activities of "case-hunting busybodies", no. 583, a very detailed lease of a vineyard (which incidentally contains some crucial evidence for the date of the Seleucid invasion of Egypt), no. 589, the accounts of a friendly society probably based on a gymnasium, and no. 580, a text to which no parallel exists. In it a serving soldier who is also a member of a soldiers' club assigns in the event of his death the burial benefit to which he is entitled. No assignee is named and the assignment (to which no time limit is affixed) was apparently negotiable.

As is usual, the Roman documents in the Library's collection are more numerous than the Ptolemaic. Petitions, of which there are many, addressed to various authorities from the Prefect down to local magistrates or police officers, are revealing of many sides of life. In no. 114 a widow, Aurelia Artemis, appeals to the Prefect for protection against her late husband's employer.

¹ They were first published in *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xviii (1934); they are now republished as nos. 554-70.

She writes : " When my husband went the way of all flesh, Syrion broke in, intending with the help of his local influence to snatch the property of my infant children from the very bed where my husband's body lay." She adds that her husband had never failed in his obligations to the Treasury and that Syrion in his capacity as tax-collector had removed the corn she had set aside for the payment of her taxes and had left no receipt. The subscription appended by the Prefect to her petition must have been cold comfort : " With a view to what is expedient for the revenues. . . . His Excellency the Epistrategus shall sift the matter with the utmost equity." In another (no. 116) a man complains that in the course of a quarrel about his father's will his mother had assaulted him with the assistance of his uncle. Robberies are naturally a frequent source of complaint as it was so easy to dig through the mud-brick walls of Egyptian houses; in the year A.D. 29 a man complains (no. 127) that as he was sleeping before the door of his house on a hot summer's night certain persons made a " thievish incursion " and undermining the north wall of his house by way of a beer-shop removed a number of valuables. No less vivid are some of the verbatim reports of the legal proceedings in which such complaints issued. In one such report (no 653) the community of Theadelphia in A.D. 321 accuses a neighbouring village of interfering with the canal on which the life of their village depended ; their state is so desperate that only three taxpayers are left and they conclude by offering through their advocate to resign their land provided that their neighbours take over together with the land and the water their financial responsibilities as well. This is of particular interest as it is precisely to the breakdown of the irrigation system in this and the succeeding centuries which left the out-lying villages high and dry that we owe so many of our papyri ; much of the land that the Greeks irrigated in the third century B.C. in the Fayûm is still desert. The proceedings recorded in no 654 have by contrast a somewhat topical air ; the issue is that of the " direction " of labour. A weaver claims that the builders, such is the shortage of building labour, do not recognize the importance to the state of any other work and are bent on making a builder of him ; to escape their violence he has to be guarded

in his wife's house. Here the chief legal officer rules that provided he is properly trained and is actively engaged in his craft he is not to be disturbed. Other public documents that merit a summary mention here are a lively and verbatim account of municipal elections (no. 77) near the end of the second century which ended in violence, such was the unwillingness to serve of one of the nominees ; a Latin call-up notice of the year A.D. 505 served on an inhabitant of Hermopolis by order of the Count of the Thebaid Frontier in which the conditions for exemption are carefully stated (no. 609) ; an application for an industrial concession (no. 98) and another (no. 98a) for the grant of hunting rights ; and an elaborate will (no. 153), which includes provision for the maintenance of a religious rite at his grave, of a man who was a member of the international society of athletes. The private letters are rather disappointing, but this extract from a letter written in the second century by two women to the steward of their estate may be quoted (no. 243) : " Demarion and Irene to their dearest Syrus, very many greetings. We know that you are distressed about the deficiency of water ; this has happened not to us only but to many, and we know that nothing has occurred through any fault of yours. We now know your zeal and attentiveness to the work of the holding, and we hope that with God's help the field will be sown. . . . "

Isolated documents, if their value is to be appreciated, must always be treated in close consideration with those in other collections ; the value of a self-contained archive is more readily intelligible. Such an archive, on a small scale, the Library possesses in the papers, public and private, of Theophanes (nos. 616-51),¹ a high civil servant, otherwise unknown to history, on the staff of the Prefect of Egypt in the second and third decades of the fourth century A.D. ; these were found at Hermopolis in the Thebaid where he owned a country estate with which some of the papers are concerned. But the majority of them have a wider interest ; it would seem that he was sent on an official mission, probably as representing the finance department of the Egyptian Government to Antioch in Syria, the headquarters of the

¹ Cf. also nos. 607 and 713.

Praetorian Prefect of the East. He prepared (or perhaps his wife did it for him) lists of clothes and other equipment he would need for the journey ; in addition he kept a scrupulous record of his route across the desert through Palestine and Syria, listing both the daily stages in Roman miles and also his daily expenditure—what he spent on his bath, on a visit to the theatre, on food, drink, and entertainment, even (if some lines are rightly interpreted) on presents to take back to the family. To his desk in Alexandria had come petitions formally addressed to the Emperors on financial matters ; these he seems to have taken with him to Antioch, perhaps to get the decision of some higher official on some matter of principle involved, and then to have used them for his private accounts on the return journey. He carried letters of introduction in Latin (Latin was then the official medium of communication between high officials although Theophanes normally spoke and wrote Greek), but either did not bother or found it unnecessary to present them.

Of his family life we do not know as much as we should wish ; but his two young sons were privileged to accompany him to Alexandria and to see for the first time the sights of the great city. When they got home they wrote their father a letter (perhaps dictated by their tutor) in formal Greek embodying a little essay on filial piety. (Another letter which possibly belongs to this archive is no. 607 ; in this Dionysius (the father of Theophanes if the identification is correct) instructs his bailiff to convert all his available cash into goods as he had got wind of an imperial edict lowering the value of the coinage.) Theophanes returned safely from his journey and does not seem to have been personally involved in the great civil war between Constantine and Licinius with the preliminaries to which his journey was most probably concerned ; a number of accounts and lists give us a picture of his life at home, building, entertaining local notables with mimes and acrobatic performances, and generally running the estate.

Anyone at all familiar with the material will realize how inadequate this description of the Library's papyri is, particularly of the documents ; nothing, for example, has been said about the contribution they make to our knowledge of the Greek and Latin

languages or to Greek and Latin palaeography. But one point may be emphasized in conclusion. When a text is published its value for the serious student has only begun to be exploited; as these texts are more thoroughly studied and as new publications of related documents continue to be made, we may be confident that our knowledge and understanding of the ancient world, its literature, its history, and its social life will continue to be enriched by the Library's collections of Greek and Latin papyri.

A CHESS *MAQĀMA* IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

BY THE REV. JAMES ROBSON, M.A., D.LITT., D.D.
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THE John Rylands Library possesses a manuscript of Ibn Abū Ḥajala's work on chess entitled *Unmūdhaj al-qitāl fī li'b al-shaṭrānj*,¹ at the end of which there is a chess *maqāma*. So far as I have discovered, this manuscript is the only place where the whole *maqāma* is to be found. Ahlwardt, in his catalogue of the Berlin manuscripts, mentions a manuscript which contains excerpts from Ibn Abū Ḥajala's *maqāmas*.² I obtained a photostat of this selection and found that it gives only the first part of some *maqāmas*. It gives less than half of the *maqāma* which the John Rylands manuscript gives in full. These excerpts are said to have been made from Ibn Abū Ḥajala's work, *Maṇīq al-ṭair* of which only selections are extant. The John Rylands manuscript was used by N. Bland in preparing his article "On the Persian Game of Chess",³ and by H. J. R. Murray in preparing his work, *A History of Chess*,⁴ but neither of them did more than mention the presence of the *maqāma*. That is only natural, as it does not supply material useful for their purposes. The manuscript is described in full in Mingana's Catalogue, no. 767.

THE AUTHOR

Ibn Abū Ḥajala, who was Ahmad b. Yaḥyā b. Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Wāhid Shihāb al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī, was born in Tilimsān

¹ MS. Arab. no. 59. See A. Mingana, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester, 1934), no. 767.

² W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arab. Hdss. der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, 10 vols. (Berlin, 1887-99), no. 8379. Cf. nos. 8474, 8554 (1, 2).

³ *JRAS* (1852), pp. 1 ff.

⁴ Oxford, 1913. A slip has been made on p. 176, where this manuscript is called no. 93 instead of no. 59. On p. 175 the John Rylands manuscript *Nuzhat arbāb al-‘uqūl fil shaṭrānj al-manqūl* (Mingana, op. cit. no. 766) is numbered 59 instead of 86.

(Tlemcen) in 725/1325. He went to Cairo, and after performing the Pilgrimage and paying a visit to Damascus, he returned to Cairo where he lived till his death in 776/1375, or 777. His interests were chiefly literary, and he was considered a writer of merit. He is praised for his *maqāmas*.¹

THE LITERARY FORM OF THE *maqāma*

The *maqāma*² is a somewhat strange literary form. It tells a story, but the interest is not so much in the story as in the language in which it is told. The writer of a *maqāma* must use rhymed prose, and adopt a highflown style, using many allusions. There is commonly a fair amount of verse, the fiction being maintained that it is composed extemporaneously. The chief purpose of writers of *maqāmas* is to show their erudition and ingenuity, and so a *maqāma* is difficult to translate, for it is impossible to give the flavour of the original in a translation. To use rhymed prose in English is out of the question. One must also be on the lookout for allusions and double meanings. A bare translation may therefore sound rather unintelligible to one who has not a background of knowledge of Arabic literature and Muslim civilization, and it is necessary to provide a commentary. Indeed, even for those who have such a background, a commentary is not out of place.

In the *maqāma* there is always a narrator who tells the story, and an author usually composes all his *maqāmas* about the same hero, who is a clever rascal, able by his erudition and trickery to get money out of people. There is one peculiar feature of the *maqāma* translated below. While it is usual for the hero to come off best and deceive everyone he meets, although Abul Riyāsh

¹ C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, ii. 13 and Supp. ii. p. 5, gives sources for biographical details. I have to thank Mr. C. F. Beckingham for copying out for me excerpts from the summary of Ibn Ḥabib's *Durrat al-aslāk fi daulat al-atrāk* in *Orientalia*, ii, 440, and 'Asqalānī's *Kitāb al-durār al-kāmina*, where he tells me the reference is i, pp. 329-31, no. 826, and not as given in *GAL*, loc. cit. 776 is usually given as the date of Ibn Abū Ḥajala's death, but Ibn Ḥabib gives 777, and Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber* (Göttingen, 1882), no. 437, gives 775 (or 770, 774, 777).

² For a fuller account of the *maqāma* see T. Chener, *The Assemblies of Al-Harīrī* (London, 1867), Introd. ; R. A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 328 ff. ; Enc. of Islām, iii. 161 ff.

gets the better of his first opponent, he is beaten by the second and third. A game of skill certainly presents no opportunities for trickery, but one would have expected the author to make his hero the winner each time.

The art of the *maqāma* has had quite a long history. The earliest examples we possess are those of *Hamadhānī* (358-398/969-1007). The *maqāma* was brought to perfection by *Ḥarīrī* (446-516/1054-1122), and there have been imitators at different periods and in different languages. Even last century *Nāṣīf al-Yazījī* (1800-71) produced a collection of sixty *maqāmas*, in which he shows not only a cultured Arabic style, but also great erudition. It is unlikely, however, that any modern writer will attempt to write in this form, and one may safely conclude that this type of literature has died out.

Ibn Abū Ḥajala says that he modelled his *maqāmas* on those of *Ḥarīrī*.¹ His hero, *Abul Riyāsh*, corresponds to *Ḥarīrī*'s *Abū Zaid*, and his narrator *Al-Sājī* b. *Hamām* to *Ḥarīrī*'s *Al-Ḥārith* b. *Hammām*. He further explains how he has given fanciful names.² His own name is Ibn Abū Ḥajala, and *ḥajala* means *partridge*, which, he says, is a class of pigeon. *Sājī* means *a cooing pigeon*, and *ḥamām* means *pigeon*. *Abul Riyāsh* literally means *the father of feathers*.

The *maqāmas* of Ibn Abū Ḥajala were, as he tells us, dedicated to *Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ḥasan*. This ruler had two brief periods as *Mamlūk* sultān in Egypt, and disappeared after the second period in 762/1361, never to be seen again. Ibn Abū Ḥajala refers to him in a manner which suggests that he knew of his death.³ The chess *maqāma* was written later and was dedicated to *Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ*, governor of *Māridīn*.⁴

¹ Ahlwardt, MS. no. 8379, fols. 102b, 103a.

² Ibid. fol. 103a.

³ Ibid. fol. 102b, where he calls the sultān "the martyr".

⁴ See Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* (Cairo, 1311), i. 214; M. van Berchem and J. Strzygowski, *Amida* (Heidelberg, 1910), p. 113. I am indebted to Dr. D. S. Rice for these two references. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited Māridīn in Ṣāliḥ's time, speaks highly of his enlightenment and generosity (*Tuhfat al-nuẓẓār*, Cairo, 1322, i. 178). Ṣāliḥ was governor of Māridīn from 712 to 765 (1312-64), but Ibn Iyās, loc. cit. says he died in 766, aged 71. See further *Abul Fidā*, *Mukhtaṣar ta'rīkh al-bashar* (Constantinople, 1268), iv. 69; E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie* (Hanover, 1927), p. 229. (Continued overleaf).

THE MANUSCRIPT

The *maqāma* extends from fols. 81b to 86b. Vowel signs have been added, but obviously by someone who knew very little about them, as they are frequently quite impossible. The text is written clearly, but here and there mistakes occur. It has been possible to correct some readings from the Berlin manuscript,¹ but in the latter part of the *maqāma* which is not included there, it has been necessary sometimes to make conjectural emendations. In the textual notes I have used B for the Berlin manuscript and R for the John Rylands manuscript.

I have to thank Dr. A. A. Abdel Meguid, whom I have consulted about difficult passages, for his very willing help. Some emendations which I have adopted were his suggestion, and I have put the letter M in brackets in the textual notes to indicate where the reading in the text is an emendation suggested by him.

TRANSLATION

Al-Sājī' b. Ḥamām related the following : I came to Māridīn² with a company of people who were going there, to see its fortress which is veiled in clouds, on whose board the pawns of the stars are drawn up in line. Having the shining stars it could dispense with pearls, and in the evening, by reason of its leading inhabitants there was a moon in all its regions.³

When you look at everything, you see that all things are fine.

On fol. 81a Ibn Abū Ḥajala introduces the *maqāma* thus : " The epilogue, mentioning the chess *maqāma* which I composed in the name of the sūlṭān Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ, governor of Māridīn, and attached to the *maqāmas* which I composed in the name of the sūlṭān Al-Malik (f. 81b) al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, Allah most high have mercy on his youth and appoint his drink from the pure wine which is sealed " (cf. Qur'ān, lxxxiii. 25).

¹ fols. 105a to 106a. There it is called *Al-maqāma al-Mārdānīya*.

² This is the Arabic pronunciation of the name of the town which is properly Mārdīn. In the Arabic text it rhymes with *wāridīn*. Māridīn is a rock fortress in Upper Mesopotamia. Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, iii. 273 ff. ; G. Le Strange, *The lands of the eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1930), p. 96.

³ The moon is commonly used as a figure for beauty, but here it is used as a figure for brightness. The town was illuminated by its distinguished men who shone like moons in every quarter.

I entered it when the *mu'adhdhin* was beginning to cry,
 "Come to salvation",¹ and I mingled with its boon companions
 as water is mingled with wine. I reached the topmost step in
 its high eminence and looked down on the world from its most
 remote elevation.²

A town in whose land I was near the sky when I alighted in the region of its
 generous host.

If its fish were to appear in the river of the Milky Way, I could catch it from there
 quickly by hand.

I began to repair to every quarter in it and go round in it like
 the rook on the board, among shy women and distinguished men.
 A young cup-bearer was treating the large cup as small, looking
 steadily at the boon-companion, saying in the course of con-
 versation over some old wine,

The only pleasures which remain are the conversations of noble people over
 wine,

and reciting,

I see that the province of the kingdom of the good one (*al-sālih*) who is *sūtān*
 attracts with kindness him who is remote.

Many a well of water in his preserve says to me, "The only source of comfort is
Sālih".

Now while we were in the period of Spring and the season for
 reciting poetry to a company, the sound of the trump arose by
 which the bright blooms shone forth,³ and we went out to pluck
 the blossom of flowers, separating ourselves with a company
 which was making a tour for some purposes.

We went out to stay three days, but it was so pleasant that we stayed there a
 month,

some playing chess and others backgammon.⁴

¹ One of the phrases in the call to prayer.

² Cf. Le Strange, loc. cit. "All the buildings rose one above the other in steps,
 and the roads were stairs". See Yāqūt, *Kitāb mu'jam al-bulāq* (ed. Wüstenfeld),
 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1866-73), iv. 390.

³ The reference is to the last trump which heralds the resurrection, with which
 the appearance of the flowers in spring is compared. Cf. Qur'ān, xxii. 115 :
 xxxix. 68 ; lix. 13.

⁴ The Persian term is used here for "backgammon" because it rhymes with
shātranj (chess), whereas the Arabic word *nard* does not.

They moved to the wine like a rook and turned back, and the wine was making them move like queens.¹

[This took place] in everyone with a lofty soul and high aim, who prolonged drinking wine, and saw on his red board what Zarqā' of Al-Yamāma did not see.²

I hand him the glass of silver and receive it of melted gold.³

So without doubt I make gain in the mutual giving, as though in my transaction I were a usurer.

We had no sooner extinguished the fire [of thirst] with the pure wine and begun to cast lots about chess in the public road, when there approached us

A shaikh of ours from Rabi'at al-Faras, plucking at his beard from confusion,⁴ who in wiles exceeded Abū Zaid,⁵ who had on him the mark of the lords of the Path⁶ and a patched garment like an old chessboard. He said, "O you liberal ones with fastidious souls, do you not see my altered state and my leaning wall? Poverty has mounted on my exposed position, and the pawns in my file, who are the children, have become unable to recognize the value of the pieces and to get the attention of the king.⁷ Their pawn in its devouring is a queen, their mother like the bishop devours whatever there is, and the position is cramped. I am a man of many years whose bones have become weak, who is bereft of everything, and whose soul has despaired of existence.

¹ The queen moved diagonally and only one square at a time, whereas the rook moved as in our game. Cf. *JRAS.* (1852), p. 59; H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Chess* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 225 f.

² Zarqā' is a woman of Arab legend who had the reputation of being able to see anything three days' journey away. There is a story of an attacking army carrying trees so as to deceive her, a story which has its counterpart in *Macbeth*.

³ The glass looks like silver, but when it is filled with wine it looks like gold.

⁴ This verse is a quotation from a couplet composed in satire of Ḥarīrī, who was a slow and painstaking writer, although he represented his chief character as one who could extemporize. Cf. T. Chenery, op. cit. pp. 28 f.

⁵ The hero of Ḥarīrī's *maqāmas*.

⁶ I.e. the Sūfīs.

⁷ The manuscript has *shāt* (ewe), but this was often used by the common people for *shāh* (king). Cf. Murray, op. cit. p. 224 n. The pawns (*bayādiq*) are foot-soldiers. Here the fanciful idea seems to be expressed that the pawns are wandering about aimlessly, receiving no oversight from the king.

Perhaps, perhaps, perhaps, and perhaps he who has bound the wards¹ may loosen them."

Al-Ṣāji² b. Ḥamām said : Now we were delighted by his chess phrases with his abstruse references in the manner of Al-Fāḍil² and his speech which played with artistic allusions, so we ordered him to sit down and get what was desired and receive the *dīnār* of the one who was beaten. Then when he sat down to watch the game he got up, and we resolved to get up. The old man was afraid on this account that the gold would be lost, so to arrange the board he swore, " By the earth and what spread it out and by a soul and what fashioned it,³ if you appoint me the two stipulated amounts I will win at it from two sides".⁴ I said, " Neither Al-Māwardī⁵ nor Ṣaṣṣā⁶ the Indian makes such a claim as yours. Now do not wager on a refractory she-camel⁷ so that your soul may be lost over a game." He replied, " You are ignorant of my worth, because they trained me in the clamour of desperate war.

You will know on the boards, when we meet the swift horses, of what kind I am. So you keep to the [she-camel] which is pasturing at large, for the seeker of herbage will not lie to his people,⁸ and in butting there the

¹ The word means " knots ". See Murray, op. cit. p. 223, where he says, " In the other MSS. I find the verb 'aqada used repeatedly of two *firzāns*, or *firzān* and *baidaq*, in the sense of 'unite', 'tie together', 'place so that two pieces mutually defend one another'." He therefore translates the noun 'ugda as " ward ". *Firzān* = Q; *baidaq* = P. The excerpt in the Berlin manuscript ends with this verse.

² The reference is probably to the *qādi* Al-Fāḍil Abū 'Alī 'Abd al-Rahīm b. Bahā' al-Dīn al-Lakhmī al-'Asqalānī al-Miṣrī (529-596 = 1135-1200), *wazīr* of Saladin, who had a great reputation as an author.

³ Qur'ān, xci. 6 f.

⁴ He will play a game with both colours and win both games. There may also be a suggestion that, since he is poor, someone should provide his stake.

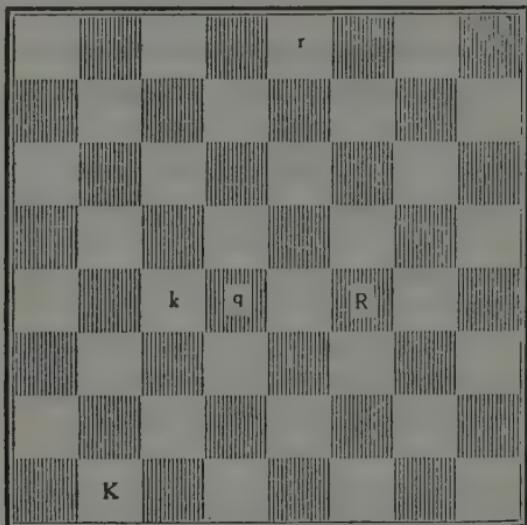
⁵ A chess master in the time of the 'Abbāsid Caliph Al-Muktafi (289-295 = 902-908). Cf. Murray, op. cit. p. 199.

⁶ The reputed inventor of chess. See Murray, op. cit. Index.

⁷ The first of a number of proverbs quoted in this *maqāma*. Cf. G. W. Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1838-43), ii. 501.

⁸ Ibid. ii. 525. The proverb indicates that even a habitual liar will not lie to his people on the subject of suitable pasture, as it is as much in his interest as in theirs. Ṣāji² is being told to attend to matters on which he can be expected to speak the truth.

hornless ram is overcome."¹ Thereupon he tucked up his skirt and clad himself with night as with a garment.² Then he took the black pieces and said, "For some matter or other he who rules is made ruler".³ Then when I intended to repulse him



Capitals represent white and small letters black.

and began to ward him off, he moved the king beside the queen⁴ and said, "An obstacle has been placed between the ass and the leaping".⁵ Taking possession of the two stipulated amounts and being refreshed with the gold, he said, "He who removes the veil has abandoned deceit.⁶ O lords of the cavalry and of intelligence pouring forth like a flood,

¹ Cf. G. W. Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1838-43), ii. 88. A poor player has no hope of beating a master. In the *maqāma* the word *thamma* (there) is added to the usual form of the proverb to supply a rhyme to *ajamma* (hornless).

² Ibid. i. 661. Freytag says, *Proverbiū monet, ut parati simus et diligentiam in quaerendo adhibeamus*. See also Lane, *Lexicon*, pp. 871, 1595.

³ Freytag, op. cit. ii. 450. No one is put in a high position without possessing qualities to justify it. In a game of skill like chess one becomes a master only because of his ability.

⁴ This is a difficult phrase. I give this translation with some hesitation, but it at least makes sense and fits in with the position in the diagram. R cannot check K because Q is interposed. I have consulted Mr. H. J. R. Murray about this position, and he agrees that it is a winning one for black.

⁵ Cf. Freytag, op. cit. ii. 251.

⁶ For a somewhat different form of the proverb cf. ibid. i. 210.

Is there now among you one who will come forward, or will contend in playing it ?
 I will show him in it what will suffice concerning every principle and exponent.
 Many positions have I crossed with my cavalry to the enemy.
 To him my land is sacrosanct except when he is passing through.
 The flesh of my ewe¹ is mutton, but the ewe of other people is a goat.”

Al-*Sāji* b. *Hamām* said : When he composed his verses extemporaneously and made a display of hopping around² I considered him, and lo, he was our shaikh *Abul Riyāsh*, the rook of the board and the stirrer up of dust in every region. My conjecture about him was correct, and I got security for myself from him. Then I said, “ Do what you like with the people, for I have no power to deal with you today.

Neither is my heart a target for the ladies, nor are my fingers a mount for the rooks.”

Now while he was assaulting like Al-*Sūlī*³ and investigating the subject of the stakes like one versed in the fundamentals,⁴ the full moon of the region and the king of the board hastened to him⁵ and the wager was settled. They proceeded to the board where the battle was to take place, with the condition that each hand should get what it won, each ewe what milk it gave, and each soul what it acquired.⁶ They both began to make their opening moves with their army and move forward their camp. Our friend got ready for him, marched upon him with his cavalry

¹ There is probably a play here on *shāt* (ewe) and *shāh* (king).

² *Abdā hauqalat al-hajl*. The verbal noun *hauqala* means *walking quickly and with short steps*. For an example of hopping to indicate pleasure, cf. Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad* (Cairo, 1313 A.H.), i. 108. *Hauqala* also means *repelling*, and *hajal* means *partridge*. The phrase might therefore be translated as “made clear the repelling (defeat) of the partridge”, Ibn Abū Hajala thus punning on his own name.

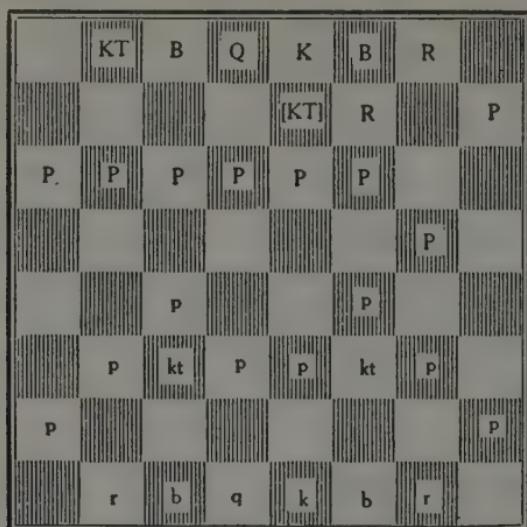
³ A famous chess player who defeated Māwardī. He died in 335/946. Cf. Murray, op. cit. Index; *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, iv. 541 ff.

⁴ A reference to the bases of Muslim jurisprudence.

⁵ The full moon, which is commonly used as a figure of speech for beauty, is here used to indicate the leading player of the neighbourhood, as is also the phrase “ king of the board ”. There is a play on *badr* (full moon) and *badara* (hastened).

⁶ This last phrase is based on Qur’ānic language. Cf. ii. 281 ; iii. 24, 155 ; xl. 17 ; xlvi. 21. There is also a play on words, as *nafs* (soul) is a name given to the K. Cf. Murray, op. cit. p. 224.

and his infantry, became completely hostile to him, and made the pawns of the *sayyāla*¹ run like a flood.



Capitals represent white and small letters black.

Abul Riyāsh countered him with the *mujannah*² opening by spreading out the wings. He brought the rooks round to the knights' squares, each rook making straighter to its goal than a dove,³ quicker to run off than an ostrich,⁴ rarer than the *anūq*'s eggs,⁵ and more disobedient than a fiery steed.⁶ His pawn was a star in clouds and his rook an eagle in high places. The

¹ One of the favourite openings. The position after the twelfth move is illustrated by the red (white) pieces in the diagram. Cf. Murray, op. cit. p. 237. For an analysis of this opening by Lajlāj, see ibid. pp. 263 ff. In the manuscript a Kt. has been omitted.

² Another favourite opening, illustrated by the black pieces after the twelfth move. Ibid. p. 248. Analysis by Lajlāj, ibid. pp. 248 ff. Sūli considered no opening better than these two. Ibid. p. 239.

³ Cf. Freytag, op. cit. ii. 896.

⁴ Ibid. iii. 515.

⁵ Ibid. ii. 148. The *anūq* is said to be a species of vulture which lays its eggs in inaccessible places. The proverb does not seem to be very appropriate, but may be used to indicate that the rooks cannot be attacked.

⁶ Freytag, op. cit. ii. 148 gives *a'azz min al-ablaq al-'aqūq*, "rarer than a pregnant piebald stallion". For a verse combining this with the previous proverb, see *Tāj al-'Arūs*, s.v. *balaq*. In the *maqāma* the author obviously hints at the proverb, but he does no more than that.

spaces between them became cramped, the battle was fought at close quarters, the war became vehement, and they entered the first category of blow and counter blow. *Abul Riyāsh* then began sometimes to stop him and sometimes to raise his hopes when he was offering him a gambit, and recite,

I trample with my cavalry every land of a warrior in which I scorn the soul of the enemy who vanishes.

I honour my soul, and if I scorn it, it will never indeed be honourable to anyone after me.

Then our friend began to repulse him at one time and recite to him at another,

Do you covet my cavalry for a black one, since your squares have become cramped in spaces because of it?

To give hope of it is like [giving hope of] the Pleiades when they appear; but how far are the Pleiades from an inferior one who is an opponent!

Then when every star of *Abul Riyāsh*'s pawns set and he feared that the sword would reach the bone,¹ he crushed him with his roan knight and made the black king taste death by the sword (lit. the red death). He won from his desperate (lit. blue) foe the yellow dīnār, and began to laugh like the white petals of the camomile on the green verge of the road.

Another then advanced towards him and soon killed him with the bishop, moving the knight well both forwards and backwards, with the result that the king was mated on the spot. His senses and their striving were of no avail, and he was put in the wrong both when he used them jestingly and seriously, after having made much of their abundance.²

We ask from Allah most high the forgiveness of all our sins on the day when every soul will come to contend for itself.³ Verily He is bountiful and gracious.

¹ In the manuscript a board is drawn out here, but the position has not been filled in.

² When *Abul Riyāsh* is beaten for the second time, his boasting is made to look foolish. He had applied his wits to mockery of his opponents and to serious play, but all had come to nothing.

³ The reference is to the Day of Judgement.

حکی الساجع بن حام قال : قدمت في رفقه¹ واردين ، إلى ماردين ،^{81b}
 لأری قلتها التي تبرقت بالغيوم ، واصطفت برقتها يادق التحوم ، فاستفت²
 بالدراری عن الدرر ،³ وأمست⁴ بوجوه سکانها في كل ناحية من وجهها
 قمر.^{105a}

فإذا⁵ نظرت إلى الوجود بأسره شاهدت⁶ كل الكائنات ملحا
 فدخلتها ونجم المؤذن في طالع الفلاح ، وامتزجت⁷ بدمائها⁸ امتزاج⁹ الماء بالراح ،
 فنلت¹⁰ بطالعها الدرجة العليا ، واشرفت¹¹ من عدوتها القصوى على الدنيا.^{105b}

بلد قربت¹² من السماء بأرضها لما حللت بأفق¹³ آدبها¹⁴ الندى
 لو¹⁵ لاح في نهر المجرة¹⁶ حوتة لأخذته¹⁷ منها سريعا باليد
 فجعلت آوى بها إلى كل بقعة ، وأجول بها جولان الرخ في الرقعة ،^{82a}
 ما بين ظبى¹⁸ كاس ،¹⁹ وكبير أناس . وساق صغير ، يستصرف الكأس الكبير ،
 ويديم ملاحظة الندى ، ويقول في الحديث على الشراب القديم ،
 وما بقيت من اللذات إلا أحاديث الكرام على المدام .^{82b}

أرى الصالح السلطان إقليم ملكه يقرب²⁰ بالإحسان من هو نازح
 فكم عين ماء في حماه يقول²¹ لي إلا كل ما قرأت²² به العين صالح
 فيينا نحن في إبیان الربيع ، وفصل²³ إنشاد المقطوع على القطع ، إذ هبت
 لفحة الصور ، وأشرقت به كواكب النور ، فخرجنا لقطف من الزهر نوده²⁴ ،
 ونقاطع²⁵ بالقطع الدائر على الهموم | الدوره.^{82b}

وأمسكت R ⁴	الدور R ³	فاستعنت R ²	فاستعنت R ¹
يد ما يها R ⁸	وامرت R ⁵	عشاهدت B ⁶	وامرت R ⁷
نافق R ¹³	قرب R ¹²	واشرقت R ¹¹	واشرقت R ¹⁰
طى B ¹⁸ , R ¹⁷	لحدث R ¹⁶	المحبة B ¹⁵	ولو B ¹⁴
فصل B om. ²³	قرب R ²²	تفول B ²¹	تقرب R ²⁰
الدوذه R ²⁶	و نقاطع R ²⁵	و نقاطع R ²⁴	موذه B ²⁴

خرجنا على أن المقام ثلاثة فطاب لنا حتى أقمنا به شهرا ما بين لاعب شطرنج، وصاحب شش وينج.¹

مشوا إلى الراح² مشى الرح وانقلبوا³ والراح² يمشى بهم مشى الفرازين من كل ذى نفس سامية وهمة عالية يdim شرب المدامه، ويرى في رقعته⁴ الحمراء ما لم تره ذرقاء اليمامة.

أعطايه الزجاجة من لجين وآخذها من الذهب المذاب فأكسب لا محالة في التعاطي كأنى في معاملتى مرانى فما كان إلا أن أطفئنا⁵ الحرير بالرحيق، وآخذنا في القراء بالشطرنج على قارعة⁶ | الطريق،⁷ إذ قدم⁸ علينا

83a شيخ لنا⁹ من ربعة الفرس يتنف¹⁰ عنونه¹¹ من¹² الهموس يزيد في الگيد¹³ على أبي زيد، عليه سما أرباب الطريقه، ومرقة كرقعة¹⁴ الشطرنج العتيقه. فقال: يا ذوى¹⁵ الأربعية، والنفوس الأبية¹⁶ أما ترون حالى الحالى، وحائطى المائل، قد ركب الفقر كشفى، وأصبحت يادق الأولاد من صفى، لا يعرفون من القطع وزنها¹⁷ ولا يملكون من الشاة أذنها، فييدقهم في أكله فرزان¹⁸، وأمهم كالفيل تأكل ما كان، ويفضيق المكان، وقد كبرت¹⁹ سنى، ووهن العظم منى، فقاطعنى²⁰ البيض والسود، وأيست²¹ نفسي²² من الوجود.²³

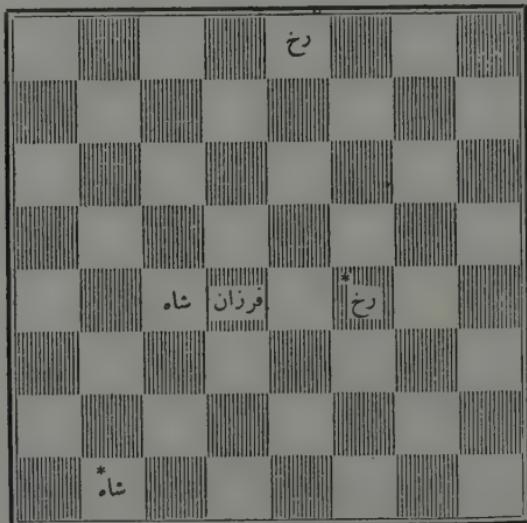
طفانا R⁵ رقمه R⁴ وانصرفوا B³ الراح R² ونج B¹

⁶ بالطريق B⁷ مارعه R⁶ A page in B begins with this word. At the bottom of the previous page the word written to indicate what follows is الطريق R⁸ R om. ⁹ B om. ¹⁰ قد مر R⁸ عنونه R¹¹ R om. ¹² R om. ¹³ الگيد R¹⁴ بادوى R¹⁵ B¹⁶ R om. ¹⁷ فرزان R¹⁸ فرزان B¹⁹ كبرت R²⁰ فقاطعنى B²¹ الوجود B²² نفسي B²³ واسب B²¹

فعلمها ولعلها ولعلها ولعل من عقد العقود يحملها.¹

قال الساجع بن حام: فطربنا من ألفاظه الشطريجية، بدقاته الفاضلية،
وكلامه | اللاعب على النكت الأدبية، فأمرناه بالعقود لينال المطلوب، وأخذ
836 دينار المغلوب. فلما قعد حول الدست قام، وعزمنا على القيام، فخاف
الشيخ بهذا السبب، ذهب الذهب، فأقسم من تسوية² الرقة بالأرض وما
طحاهما، ونفس وما³ سواها، لئن جعلتم لي الجعلين، لأغلبَنْ فيه من وجهين.
فقلت ما يدعى دعواك الماوردي، ولا صفة الهندى، فلا تراهن⁴ على
الصعب، فتروح روحك في لعبه. فقال جهلت مقدارى لأنى ربوني في وعى⁵
الحرب⁶ الزبون،⁷

ستعلم في الرقاع إذا لقينا جياد الخيل⁸ في أى⁹ أكون.
فعلمك بالمهمله، فإنه لا يكذب¹⁰ الرائد اهله،¹¹ فعند النطاح نه، يغلب



The star indicates white.

¹ B ends here.

² R [M] سوب

³ ما R

⁴ يراهن R

⁵ الوعى R

⁶ مهله R [M] الرنون R⁷

⁸⁻⁸ اي في R

⁹ يكذب R

¹⁰ مهله R

الكبش الأجمَّ، ثمَّ إنَّه شَمَرْ ذِيلًا¹، وَادْرَعْ لِيلًا، فَأَخْذَ السُّودَ، وَقَالَ لِأَمْرِ مَا
يَسُودَ مِنْ يَسُودَ. | فَلَمَّا قَصَدَتْ لَدْفَعَهُ، وَأَخْذَتْ فِي مِنْعَهُ، ضَرَبَ الشَّاهَ^{84a}
بِالْفَرْزانَ، وَقَالَ حِيلَ بَيْنَ الْعِيرِ وَالْتَّزَوَانَ، فَحَازَ² الْجَمِيلَينَ، وَأَصْبَحَ بِالْذَّهَبِ
قَرِيرَ الْعَيْنِ، ثُمَّ قَالَ تَرَكَ الْحَدَاعَ، مِنْ كَشْفِ الْقَنَاعِ، فِي أَرْبَابِ الْحَيْلِ،
وَالْأَذْهَانِ السَّيَّالَةِ كَالْسِيلِ،

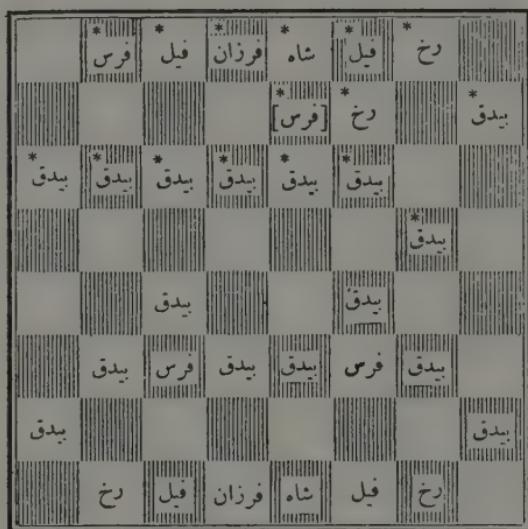
هل فيكم الآن باوز
في لعبه أو مبارز
أوري فيه حسابة
في كلّ أصل وبادرز^{84b}
فكم قطعت بخيلي
إلى العدوّ مراكز
أرضى عليه حرام
إلا إذا كان جائز
ولحم شاتى ضائى
وشاة³ غيرى ماعز

قال الساجع بن حام: فلَمَّا ارْتَجَزَ⁴ وَارْتَجَلَ،⁵ وَأَبْدَى⁶ حَوْفَلَةَ⁷ الْحَجَلَ،
تَأْمَلْتَهُ فَإِذَا بِهِ شِيخَنَا أَبُو الْرِّيَاضِ رَخَ الرَّقْعَهُ، وَمِثْرَ النَّقْعَهُ فِي كُلِّ بَقْعَهُ،
فَصَحَّ فِيهِ حَدَسَى⁸، وَأَخْذَتْ⁹ مِنْهُ الْأَمَانَ عَلَى نَفْسِي، فَقَلَتْ دُونَكَ وَالْقَوْمَ،
فَلَا طَاقَةَ لِي بِكَ الْيَوْمِ،

فَغَيْرُ فَوَادِي لِلْغَوَانِي¹¹ رَمِيَّةَ¹² لِلرَّخَاخِ رَكَابَ
فِينَاهِ يَصُولُ كَالصَّوْلَى، وَيَبْحَثُ فِي بَابِ الرَّهِينِ بِحْثَ¹³ الْأَصْوَلَى، إِذْ بَدَرَ^{85a}
إِلَيْهِ بَدَرَ الْبَقْعَهُ، وَشَاهَ الرَّقْعَهُ، فَعَقَدَ الرَّهَانَ، وَتَقَدَّمَ إِلَى رَقْعَهُ | الْمَيْدَانُ، عَلَى
أَنَّهُ لَكَّ يَدَ ما¹⁴ ضَرَبَتْ، وَلَكَّ شَاهَ مَا حَلَبَتْ، وَلَكَّ نَفْسَ مَا كَسْبَتْ.
فَأَخْذَ كَلَّ مِنْهُمَا فِي تَعِيَّةَ¹⁵ عَسْكَرَهُ، وَتَقْدِيمَ¹⁶ مَعْسَكَرَهُ، فَاعْتَدَ صَاحْبَنَا لِأَجْلِهِ،

وارتحل R⁵ ارتحز R⁴ وشاه R³ فيحار R² ديلا R¹
واخذت R⁶ [M] خديني R⁹ اليف R⁸ حوفله R⁷ وابدا R¹⁰
[M] ويقدم R¹¹ تعيه R¹⁵ وما R¹⁴ بحث R¹³ سانى R¹² للغوانى R¹⁶

وزحف عليه بخيله ورجله، قال عليه كل الميل، وأجرى يادق السَّيَّالَةَ
السائل.



The star indicates white.

فقاله أبو الرياش من تعبية^١ المجنح^٢ بنشر الجناحين، وحلق بالرخين،
إلى موضع الفرسين، من كل رخ أهدى من حمامه، وأنفر من نعامه، أعزَّ

من يض الألوق، وأعظم من العقيق في العقوق. فيصدق نجم في سحاب،
ورخ عقاب في عقاب. فضاق بينهما المحال، والتحم القتال، فقامت الحرب

على ساق، ودخلوا^٣ في أول باب من طق إلى طاق. فجعل أبو الرياش
تارة يزرمه، وآونة يطمه^٤ حين يطمه، وينشد

أدوس بخيلي كل أرض محارب أهين بها نفس العدو الذي يردى

وأكرم^٥ نفسي لتنى إن أهنتها^٦ وحقك لم تكرم إلى أحد بعدى

فجعل صاحبنا تارة يبعده، وآونة ينشده،

^١ R بعيه

^٢ المجنح R

^٣ يطمه R

^٤ [M] والزم R

^٥ أهينها R

أَنْطَلَمَ^١ فِي^٢ خَيْلِي بِأَدْهَمِ مَذْغَدِ^٣ غَدَتْ بِيَوْتِكَ مِنْهُ ضَيْقَاتِ الْمَنَازِلِ
 وَتَطْبِعِيهِ^٤ مِثْلِ التَّرِيَّا^٥ إِذَا بَدَا وَأَيْنِ التَّرِيَّا^٦ مِنْ [حَةٌ] يَرِ^٧ مِنَا زَلَ
 فَلَمَّا غَرَبَ مِنْ يَادِقِ أَبِي الرِّيَاشِ كُلَّ نَجْمٍ^٨ وَخَافَ مِنْ وَصْوَلِ السَّكِينِ
 إِلَى الْعَظَمِ^٩ | حَطَمَهُ بِفَرْسِهِ الْأَشْقَرِ، وَأَذَاقَ الشَّاهِ الْأَسْوَدِ الْمَوْتَ الْأَحْمَرِ. فَفَازَ^{١٠}
 مِنْ عَدُوِّهِ الْأَزْرَقِ بِالْدِينَارِ الْأَصْفَرِ،^{١١} وَجَعَلَ مِثْلَ نَفْرِ^{١٢} الْأَقَاحِ الْأَيْضِ يَضْحِكُ
 عَلَى شَارِبِ الْطَّرِيقِ الْأَخْضَرِ. فَنَقَدَمَ إِلَيْهِ الثَّانِي فَمَا كَانَ بَعْدَ قَلِيلٍ، حَتَّى
 قَتَلَهُ^{١٣} بِالْفَقِيلِ، فَأَحْسَنَ فِي سُوقِ الْفَرَسِ وَرَدَهَا، وَمَاتَتْ مِنْهُ الشَّاهِ فِي جَلْدِهَا
 فَبَطَّلَتْ^{١٤} مِنْهُ الْحَوَّاسِ وَكَدَهَا، وَأَخْطَى فِي هَزْلِهَا وَجَدَهَا، بَعْدَ أَنْ تَحْيِرَ^{١٥} فِي
 عَدَهَا.

وَنَسَأَلَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى غَفَرَانَ ذُنُوبِنَا كُلَّهَا يَوْمَ تَأْتِي كُلَّ نَفْسٍ تَجَادِلُ عَنْ
 نَفْسِهَا إِنَّهُ جَوَادٌ كَرِيمٌ.

الْتَّرِيَّا R⁵ وَتَطْبِعِيهِ R⁴ اَنْطَلَمَ R¹ مِنْ R² مَذْغَدِ R³

R⁶ يَرِ [M] R⁷ حَمِ R⁸ Here a board is marked off, but no position has
 been entered. قَلَهُ R¹² تَعْبِزَ R¹¹ الْأَصْفَرِ R¹⁰ فَهَارِ R⁹ فَطَّلَتْ R¹³ تَحْيِرَ R¹⁴

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE WESTERN DESERT: I

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THESE notes are based on researches which the author made during his official work in the Western Desert and in the Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria. The evidence is arranged as far as possible in the chronological order of the records.

ANCIENT HISTORY OF MAREOTIS

The lake and vineyard district of Mareotis, situated to the south and west of Alexandria (Rhacotis), is perhaps referred to in remains of the Late Pre-dynastic period immediately before the time of Narmer (= Menes, founder of the First Dynasty, c. 3200 B.C.). At that time there existed, apparently, a *Nome of the Fish* at least at its western end, and the associated *Nome of the Harpoon* to the east of the lake.¹ In the famous palette of Narmer² himself is actually mentioned "Harpoon Lake", evidently Lake Mareotis, and also the "Great Door"³ (i.e. Port) of the Boat", which must have been in the region.

¹ For the (northern) fish and harpoon emblems see P. E. Newberry, in *Man*, v, pp. 132 ff. and V. G. Childe, *The Most Ancient East* (1928), pp. 95, 222. The former authority indicates that the *Nome of the Harpoon* was on the Canopic or western branch of the Nile; the other *Nome*, I believe, was to the west because, as will be seen later on, a famous fishing-port and also the cult of the fish existed there. In later times the harpoon-totem—its value I have established as *rehu*—was used in the names of the following *Delta* districts: (1) part of Vth *Nome*, (2) VIIth *Nome*, and (3) VIIIth *Nome*. H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des Noms géographiques*, iii, pp. 87 f., 121. In early titles we meet with "Great one of the harpoon of the boat", "Great one of the harpoon of the Lake of the Town of Horus (Mareotis?)". R. Weill, *II^e et III^e Dynasties Égyptiennes* (1908), p. 276. See also S. A. B. Mercer, *Horus Royal God of Egypt* (1942), pp. 29, 50, 55.

² Figured in E. A. W. Budge, *The Mummy* (1925), p. 23. See also S. A. B. Mercer, op. cit. p. 19, Fig. 6, etc.

³ Cf. the early title, "Belonging to the office of the Great Door" (R. Weill, op. cit. p. 202), also the later mention of the "Doors of the Mediterranean" (H. Gauthier, op. cit. i, p. 132).

During the reign of Zoser, first king of the Third Dynasty (c. 2778 B.C.), somewhere in Mareotis there flourished a famous vineyard. The official in charge, Peher-nefer, bore the titles : Ruler of the town of Apis (=Zawyet Um el-Rakham, west of Marsa Matrouh, and on the ancient western boundary of Egypt); district-administrator of the [Mareotis] vineyard "Star-of-Horus-President-of-Heaven"; district-administrator of the Western Desert; director of vineyards [in general]; and district-administrator of the [Delta] *Nome of the West*.¹ It seems possible that the name of the vineyard was actually based on that of the planet(?) "Star-of-Horus", for, at least in the late period, Horus was actually identified with a planet (Saturn).² The town Hui, associated with the god Seth and, like Setheret, also mentioned in the Peher-nefer inscription, may have been somewhere in Mareotis or elsewhere.

The "Pyramid Texts"³ engraved in the pyramids of the kings of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties (2563 B.C. onwards), and other inscriptions, mention the Mareotic site of Hamu (Ham, or Nehem), a fishing port renowned for its wines. This place I identify with *Cheimo the Village* of Ptolemy the Geographer,⁴ the Chimo of *Stadiasmus Maris Magni*,⁵ and the Chi of Polyaenus the Macedonian.⁶ It is the modern el-Bordan situated at the extreme western end of the lake and on the coast. An inscription of King Osorkon I (929-893 B.C.) mentions Hamu in association with Suni,⁷ also famous for its wines, and from the meaning of its name "Pool" or similar, is perhaps to be identified with

¹ Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, etc., iii, pp. 98, 100 f. = R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler* (text vol.), i, p. 188.

² E. A. W. Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, ii, pp. 302 f., 309, including reference to a dekan-god Horus. The text on the statue of Herakhbit, an Egyptian astronomer of the Thirtieth Dynasty, 378-341 B.C., refers among other things to some movement (*tenem*) of the "Star-of-Horus in the sky". *Ancient Egypt* (1917), p. 125.

³ S. A. B. Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts* (1952), 4 vols.

⁴ iv, 5, § 4.

⁵ §§ 5, 6. Prince Youssouf Kamal, *Monumenta Cartographica Africæ et Aegypti*, ii, fasc. i (1928), publishes the texts of Ptolemy (written c. A.D. 150) and of *Stadiasmus*, a book of sailing-directions for the Mediterranean coast giving distances in stages from point to point (written between A.D. 250-300).

⁶ *Strategemata*, ii, 28.2 (middle of second century A.D.).

⁷ E. Naville, *Bubastis* (1890), Pl. LI.

the classical site Halmyrae, "Brackish Springs", of Ptolemy the Geographer, the modern el-Hammam,¹ about 6 kilometres to the south-east of Chimo.

In the description of the Libyan wars of Rameses III (1198-1166 B.C.), the capital of Mareotis, later known as Meret and Marea, is, I believe, the town named "Town of [Rameses III] which is by the Mountain of *Up-Ta*² (i.e. Taenia Ridge)". A Mareotic stela text of the reign of Sheshonk IV (763-757 B.C.) refers to the gift of land to Hathor of Terenuthis—perhaps Kom Abou Billou—by a Libyan caravan-leader named Weshtehet, the land being in the town of Pa-Sebek.³ Sebek was a god who was worshipped in the *Nome of Libya* at a sanctuary called Deb,⁴ and in other regions of Egypt, particularly in the Faiyoun. King Psammetichus II (594-588 B.C.) kept a strong garrison at Marea "against the Libyans",⁵ while Diodorus⁶ mentions that it was at Marea that Amasis defeated Apries and was declared king of Egypt in place of the latter, ruling from 568-525 B.C. A stela, actually found in Mareotis, and dated in year one of Amasis, refers to a gift of land to Osiris, the chief deity of the region.⁷ A colossal statue from the same district, dating from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (663-525 B.C.), represents Wah-ib-ra, an overseer of the [western] frontier holding a naos of Osiris.⁸

The Persian Cambyses, who conquered Egypt in 525 B.C., allowed "Inaros the Libyan" to rule in Marea. In 460 B.C., in the time of Artaxerxes I (464-424 B.C.), Inaros with Mareotic and foreign aid (soldiers from Cyrene and the Athenian fleet) revolted against the Persians but was subsequently defeated and crucified in Susa in 455-454 B.C. After his death, Amyrtaeus of Sais was the only chief of the national movement against the Persians, remaining independent in the Delta until 449 B.C. In that year the new Persian satrap, having quashed the revolt in Egypt, placed Thanyras son of Inaros and Pausiris son of

¹ J. Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers* (1942), p. 114.

² J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, iv, 83. Another name for the town was "Town of [Rameses III] the repulser of the Themehu-Libyans". *Up-Ta* means, literally, "Beginning of the Earth".

³ Porter and Moss, op. cit. iv, p. 6.

⁴ H. Gauthier, op. cit. vi, p. 89.

⁵ Herodotus, ii. 30.

⁶ i. 68.

⁷ Porter and Moss, iv, loc. cit.

⁸ Loc. cit.

Amrytaeus at the heads of the local governments respectively held by their fathers. A son of Pausiris, Amyrtaeus, eventually became the sole king of the Twenty-eighth Dynasty (404-398 B.C.), and ruled over all Egypt.¹

From the Thirtieth Dynasty (378-341 B.C.), we have a long hieroglyphic inscription on a stela.² This gives details of Mareotis and certain neighbouring sites. Here are the details accompanied by my identifications of some of the sites :

1. "LAKE MAREOTIS." The shores of the lake were rich in olives, vineyards, and a good quality of papyrus plants. The excellent quality of the local wines was known all over the Graeco-Roman world. Around the lake were the country-houses and gardens of the wealthy merchants of Alexandria. The lake itself was filled with Nile boats on their way to and from the port of Marea.³
2. "NORTH OF ITS LAKE—THE MOUTH OF LAKE MAREOTIS." This *mouth* must be the southern entrance to the short north-south canal connecting the sea with the lake ; the "Old Canal of Alexandria" ran westwards from the Canopic branch of the Nile and emptied itself in the short canal, the latter being wholly in Rhacotis.
3. "CANALS TO THE NORTH OF THIS LAKE." These are surely the "Old Canal of Alexandria" and the connecting north-south canal at the west. The small canal may well be, I believe, the *Pi-Drakon* mentioned by John of Nikiou who wrote in the late seventh century A.D.⁴ Its old Egyptian name seems to have been Aqa.⁵
4. "MERIT (= MAREA)" the capital of the district, situated south of the lake. The stone quays and two jetties are still visible. An uninscribed column and blocks of stone, all of red granite, and doubtless pharaonic in origin, are among the remains of the old city mound.

¹ For details concerning this paragraph see O. Bates, *The Eastern Libyans* (1914), p. 231 ; É. Drioton et J. Vandier, *L'Égypte* (1946), pp. 575 ff. ; D. Mallet, *Les Premiers Établissements des Grecs en Égypte* (1893), p. 414 ; and his *Rapports des Grecs avec l'Égypte* (1922), pp. 33 ff. G. Botti, in *Revista Quindiciniale*, Alexandria (1891), pp. 480 ff., gives the names of forty-eight towns of Mareotis supposedly existing after the time "Inaros the Libyan" ruled, but his work must be treated with caution.

² G. Daressy, in *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, xvi, pp. 221 ff. This scholar gives his own identifications which differ from my own in many respects.

³ Strabo, xvii, 1. 7, 14, and Pliny, v, 11, both mention the lake.

⁴ For the *Pi-Drakon*, see A. J. Butler, *Arab Conquest of Egypt* (1902), pp. 14, 25, 293.

⁵ The Aqa canal is mentioned in the text of the stela of the priest Pa-shere-en-ptah, in the time of Ptolemy XI : "The Residence of the Ptolemies which is on the shore of the Mediterranean to the west of the Aqa-canal, and whose (i.e., the palace's) name is 'Rhacotis'." Cf. incomplete translation in E. Bevan, *The Ptolemaic Dynasty* (1927), p. 347. See also H. Gauthier, op. cit. i, p. 158.

5. "MAREA OF THE CULT PLACE IN THE MIDDLE OF LAKE MAREOTIS IN THE 'BEAUTIFUL REGION'." Another name for no. 4, a name which perhaps indicates that Marea was once surrounded by water, or was on a promontory in the lake.
6. "THE BEAUTIFUL REGION." South of the lake, and apparently dedicated to the lunar god Khons.¹
7. "THE SECRET PLACE² OF THE 'BEAUTIFUL REGION' WITH THE PERSEA-TREE WHICH MEASURES SEVEN CUBITS³ IN HEIGHT." In the Egyptian religious inscriptions the persea-tree is variously associated with Osiris, Ra, the phoenix, and the soul of the deceased,⁴ but as Osiris was the chief deity of Mareotis it must have been with this god that the local tree was connected.
8. "THE 'FIELD OF THE SCORPION' WHICH IS IN THIS LAND TO THE EAST." Evidently in part of the "Beautiful Region". The scorpion was generally the emblem of the goddess Selkis. There was, however, a king Scorpion, who preceded Narmer founder of the First Dynasty, upon whose stone mace-head is symbolized the victory of certain Nomes of Upper Egypt over the Egyptians of the Delta and the nomadic populations of the oases and the desert plateaux.⁵
9. "THE CASTLE TO THE EAST OF THE 'SEAT'"⁶, the *Seat* doubtless being Marea where the seat of the local administration was established. Probably the modern Abou Seif Hasan to the east of Marea, where there exist some remains of a temple (?).⁷

From Graeco-Roman times we have the following information. Alexander the Great, at the time of his visit to the Siwa Oasis, in order to consult the oracle of Ammon, passed through Mareotis, where he visited the site of Taposiris Magna on the north of the lake.⁸ The "Stela of the Satrap (i.e. Ptolemy)", dated 311 B.C., contains an inscription referring to an Egyptian expedition to the "District (or Nome) of the *Mertiu*",⁹ probably the people of Mareotis and not those of a region more to the west. In the time of Ptolemy II, about 274 B.C., Magas the Ptolemaic governor of Cyrenaica proclaimed his independence and attempted to invade Egypt. He reached as far as Chi[mo] (Hamu = el-Bordan) but eventually withdrew to Cyrene.¹⁰

¹ Op. cit. i, p. 28.

² That is, "cult place".

³ 3.67 metres.

⁴ E. A. W. Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, i, p. 513; ii, pp. 136, 317; also his *Book of the Dead*, iii (1901), p. 659.

⁵ É. Drioton et J. Vandier, op. cit. p. 133; S. A. B. Mercer, *Horus Royal God of Egypt*, pp. 18 f.

⁶ A. de Cosson, *Mareotis* (1935), p. 135.

⁷ D. Mallett, *Les Rapports des Grecs avec l'Égypte*, p. 171; A. de Cosson, op. cit. p. 110.

⁸ H. Gauthier, op. cit. iii, p. 54.

⁹ O. Bates, op. cit. p. 232.

Under the Romans, the capital Marea, which had flourished as a harbour during the time of Ptolemies, declined and became practically nothing more than a village ; it seems to have revived later on. In the Alexandrine war of 48 B.C. Caesar marched around the lake in order to attack the Alexandrine position. Under the later Caesars, and after Alexandria was occupied by the Arabs, the various canals which fed the lake were neglected, and its depth and compass materially reduced. With its modern history, and indeed that of Mareotis as a whole, we are not here concerned, but we may mention that in A.D. 1777, according to Savary, the bed of the lake was for the most part a sandy waste, remaining so until A.D. 1801, when the British Army, in order to annoy the French garrison at Alexandria, opened a natural barrier at the north-east of the lake and let in the sea. Later on the breach was repaired and the lake dried up once more.¹

Information concerning Mareotis from hieroglyphic sources is not exhausted by the inscriptions quoted above. Additional material is contained in H. Gauthier's *Dictionnaire des Noms géographiques*, etc., 1925-31, in seven volumes, from which I have extracted the hieroglyphic names of the following sites. I add some identifications of my own and some relevant information. The references are to Gauthier's work.

MAREOTIS DISTRICT

1. IAT-BASTET, "Region of the (cat-goddess) Bastet", i, p. 24.
2. IHENY. A domain of Osiris. Twenty-sixth Dynasty, i, p. 103.
3. MERIT, "Mareotis", iii, pp. 49, 54.
4. MERIT-IMENTI, "Mareotis of the *Nome of the West*", iii, p. 54. This name confirms ancient statements that in late times Mareotis formed part of the Third Nome of the Delta, variously known as the *Nome of the West* and the *Libyan* (or *Gynecopolite*)² Nome, i, p. 75.
5. SEKHET-MERIT, "Field of Mareotis", v, p. 53. This must refer to the rich agricultural areas of the region.

¹ For further details concerning this paragraph see E. Bevan, *The Ptolemaic Dynasty* (1927), p. 365 ; A. de Cosson, *Mareotis*, pp. 88 ff. ; and W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, ii, pp. 272 f.

² The chief deity of the Nome was Hathor, whose seat of worship was in the capital which bore various names such as "The Palm-Trees" (*Imau*), "Temple of the Lady of the Palm-Trees", etc. The site is today represented by Kom el-Hisn. H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des Noms géographiques*, i, p. 70, ii, p. 91.

6. THEHENU. Said to be Taenia ridge, north of Lake Mareotis, vi, p. 81.¹

THE LAKE

1. MAATI, "The Righteous", or similar. Part of Lake Mareotis (?), iii, p. 3. Compare "The Island of the Righteous", a locality near Abydos and also near Memphis. Erman-Grapow, *Wörterbuch*, ii, p. 21.

MAREOTIC TOWNS

1. MERIT, "Marea", ii, p. 38.
2. PER-MERIT, "House of Mareotis", Marea, ii, p. 88.
3. BEKET. Sacred to the god Seker, ii, p. 33.
4. HAMU, HAM, NEHAM, "The Place of Catching Fish", iii, p. 97; iv, p. 29; v, p. 228; vi, p. 46. A fishing-port and vineyard site, the Chimo, etc., of classical writers—the modern el-Bordan west of the lake and on the coast. The variant "Chimo Vicus" appears in a large coloured map, c. A.D. 1570, of *Aegypti Recentior Descriptio*, mentioned by A. de Cosson, *Mareotis*, pp. 171 f. J. R. Pacho, *Voyage dans la Marmarique*, i (1827), indicates there were wells in his time at el-Bordan; see his map opposite p. 1. On the south side of the modern military road not far from the site are some large red granite blocks, obviously part of a local Ramesside fort, a fort which barred the ancient sea-coast road leading eastwards along the rocky ridge (Taenia) to Rhacotis. Today at el-Bordan there are traces of a late enclosure over four hundred metres square walled on three sides.
5. A PHARAONIC SITE not mentioned by Gauthier is el-Gharbaniyat, "The Westerly (?); its ancient name is unknown. It is situated south-west of Marea and like that town is also south of the lake. Here I identified a granite column, broken in two parts, bearing the names of Rameses II, 1298-1232 B.C., and scenes showing the king making offerings to the solar-god Ra-Harmachis. At el-Gharbaniyat, Hamu and Marea there were certainly anti-Libyan forts erected by Rameses II.]

MAREOTIC TEMPLES AND SANCTUARIES

1. HUT-ASAR-EN-MERIT, "House of Osiris of Mareotis". Twenty-sixth Dynasty, iv, p. 62. A variant seems to be HUT-ASAR, "House of Osiris", mentioned in the Osiris Chapel at Denderah, iv, p. 60. Obviously Taposiris Magna (Abusir) on Taenia ridge north of Lake Mareotis. The large temple on this site, of which only the enclosure walls exist, was built, I believe, by Ptolemy III about the same time as he erected the famous Serapeum of Alexandria the ruins of which (with their foundation plaques of gold) I discovered a few years ago. See my *Discovery of the Famous Temple and Enclosure of Serapis at Alexandria*, Cahier no. 2 of *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* (1946). Near the large temple is a smaller one evidently dedicated to the cult of fish and birds, the cemetery of the mummified remains of some of which is reached by a connecting narrow staircase

¹ H. Gauthier, op. cit. v, p. 76, also mentions SET-MENTI, "Seat of the Two Thighs (of Osiris)", but I do not believe this place was in Mareotis because the thigh of the god was reputed to have been buried in the Temple of Osiris in the capital of the *Libyan Nome* of the Delta. Cf. op. cit. i, p. 26, iv, p. 74.

of twenty steps. The "cemetery" consists of a central apartment with four smaller rooms opening out of it. Among the remains are bones and mummies of different birds (falcons, ibises), and also an enormous quantity of fish, swathed in linen. The existence of the fish cult is interesting for it will be remembered that Mareotis was on the site of the supposed Pre-dynastic *Nome of the Fish*, while the very ancient town of Hamu, "Place of Catching Fish", was a little to the west of Taposiris Magna. Not far from the "cemetery" is an interesting series of underground chambers, including two with domes (tholoi) which have a single row of niches cut all round the walls. A low step stands on the ground before each of these niches, and in front of the steps are small basins. I have no doubt that these particular chambers are part of that half-religious, half-profanè, construction the Nymphaeum (cf. Daremberg, Saglio et Pottier, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, iv, pp. 129 ff.; R. E. Wycherley, *How the Greeks Built Cities* (1949), p. 209, and bibliography on p. 222). H. Thiersch, *Pharos* (1909), pp. 202 ff., gives a description of the site, plans of the temple enclosure and the Nymphaeum, etc., while J. B. Ward Perkins, in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, xxxvi, pp. 48 ff., describes a monastery which once existed in the enclosure. The temple itself was probably destroyed about A.D. 391, at the same time as the destruction of the Alexandria Serapeum. A general map of the Taposiris area is published by A. de Cosson, *Mareotis*, map opposite p. 110; this shows the temple enclosure, the pharos (the "Tower of the Arabs"), a Ptolemaic causeway—which has a bridge—over the lake, and the wall erected to keep out the "Barbarians" (Libyans). Objects from Taposiris Magna consist of masks of late mummies, a base of a votive statuette of black granite with Greek inscription dedicated by the priests of the temple, and several other inscriptions; cf. E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni Greche et Latine*, nos. 44, 393-8. Not far away came part of a granite statue of the hippopotamus goddess Thoueris dedicated to Ptolemy III and his Cyrenaican wife Berenice II; see my *History of Ancient Cyrenaica*, Cahier no. 12 of *Annales du Service* (1948), p. 40.¹

2. HUT-AST, "House of Isis". This Iseum is said to have been either in the *Libyan Nome* or in the Twelfth Nome of the Delta, iv, p. 131. If the former identification is correct the sanctuary may possibly have been in the island of Mahar el-Shuran, in Lake Mareotis, where there was found an inscribed statuette of Isis; the sides of the base bear two serpents in relief. Cf. G. Botti, *Catalogue des Monuments*, Alexandria (1900), p. 516: "Moi Dioskoros, fils de Petes . . . avec ma femme et mes enfants en prière devant Isis, la grande déesse qui écoute (les voeux) pour son bienfait, j'ai érigé (cette statuette)." The text appears in E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni Greche e Latine*, p. 67, no. 103.

¹ Other references to Taposiris Magna are J. R. Pacho, *Voyage dans la Mar-marie*, i, pp. 7 ff. (= statement of Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, i, vi, i, that the tomb of Osiris was at Taposiris), ii, Pls. I, II; *Description de l'Égypte, Antiquités*, v, Pl. XLIII; E. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum* (1922), pp. 337 ff., with bibliography on p. 344.

MAREOTIC SERAPEUM

1. MERIT, iii, pp. 53 f. Site unknown. Perhaps in Marea or Taposiris Magna. The so-called "Serapeum" of Gauthier may actually have been a temple of Osiris.

MAREOTIC NECROPOLI

1. IAT-MERIT, "Region of Mareotis", i, p. 26. Necropolis of Mareotis; at Taposiris Magna there are some tombs including trough-types of Ptolemaic date.
2. "LIBYAN" NECROPOLIS. Perhaps in Mareotis, iv, p. 159; v, p. 231.

From non-hieroglyphical sources I add from Ptolemy and other classical writers the following towns and villages of the Mareotic Nome, the names in capital letters being those of Ptolemy:

1. MONOCAMINUM, the Monogami of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, c. A.D. 1265, modern el-Qasaba el-Gharbiya, 5 kilometres south of el-Alamein. Here are remains of Graeco-Roman tombs; see A. Adriani, *Annuaire du Musée Gréco-Romain 1935-1939* (1940), p. 161; also A. de Cosson, op. cit. pp. 122 f., views opposite pp. 62, 124, and map at end. The site seems to be the "Kassaba Zargah el-Baharieh" and "el-Ghublieh" of R. Pacho, op. cit. i, pp. 22 f., ii, Pl. IV.
2. HALYMRÆ, "Brackish Springs", modern el-Hammam (south-east of el-Bordan and south of the lake); perhaps the pharaonic Suni mentioned in the "Book of the Dead" and elsewhere. But cf. Erman-Grapow, *Wörterbuch*, iv, p. 69, where Suni is said to be Pelusium. A. Adriani, *Annuario del Museo Greco-Romano 1932-1933*, i (1934), pp. 37 f., publishes a Graeco-Roman tomb at el-Hammam.
3. TAPOSIRIS, mentioned also by Strabo,¹ modern Abusir; the pharaonic "House of Osiris".
4. COBII; 5. ANTIPHILI; and 6. HIERAX, placed by Ptolemy south-west of the lake. The name of Hierax indicates that the cult of the falcon-deity Horus obtained there.
7. PHAMOTHIS, placed by Ptolemy south-west of the lake. The name is perhaps derived from that of the deified official Amenophis (Amen-hetep), who lived in the reign of Amenophis III, 1405-1370 B.C., but was not deified until early in the Ptolemaic era. See my *Newly-Identified Monuments in the Egyptian Museum Showing the Deification of the Dead*, etc., in *Annales du Service*, xl, pp. 1 ff. Cf. also the names of the Coptic months Phamenothis (derived from *Pa-en-Amen-hetep*) and Pharmouthi.
8. PALAEMARIA, "Old Marea", situated south-west of Marea.

Ptolemy and others mention also the following sea-coast sites of Mareotis (*on Taenia ridge north of the lake*), which I give in geographical order from Alexandria to el-Bordan:

¹ xvii, l. 14.

1. ALEXANDRIA, mentioned also in Strabo,¹ and *Stadiasmus*.² The ancient part of the city was of course called Rhacotis. I have established that Rhacotis itself was a strong frontier fort in the Western Delta at least since the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty, about 1500 B.C. ; in the reign of Rameses II it was still a great fort, a fort which remained with many rebuildings until the arrival of Alexander the Great when Rhacotis became the western suburb of the new city being then also named "Fort of . . . Alexander".
2. PHAROS ISLAND, mentioned also in *Periplus of Scylax*,³ c. 350 B.C., and Strabo ;⁴ modern Qaitbai Fort. According to Stephanus of Byzantium, of the time of Justinian I, Pharos took its name from Pharos, the pilot of Menelaus who, bitten by a serpent on that island, died and was buried there.
3. LESSER CHERONESUS HARBOUR, mentioned also in *Scylax* and Strabo,⁵ and in *Stadiasmus* as Chersonesus ; modern el-Dikheila.
4. TWO ISLANDS DIDYMI, "the Twins", mentioned also in *Stadiasmus* as Dysmae ; modern Marabit Island and Southern Agami Fort.
5. NICIUM, not mentioned in Ptolemy, but in Strabo ;⁶ ruined site six kilometres north-east of Sidi Kireir.
6. PLINTHINE, mentioned also in Strabo⁷ and *Stadiasmus* ; modern Sidi Kireir.
7. TAPOSIRIS, mentioned also in *Stadiasmus* ; modern Abusir, sometimes called Taposiris Magna.
8. CHEIMO THE VILLAGE, mentioned also in *Stadiasmus* as Chimo ; modern el-Bordan, the pharaonic Hamu, etc. On coast at western end of the lake.

THE CULTS, TOMBS, AND OTHER MONUMENTS OF MAREOTIS AND OF THE REGION TO THE WEST

Already reference has been made to cults, tombs, and sacred monuments of Mareotis and it may be of service to scholars if the details already given are assembled here with the addition of certain other details from the region in question and from the desert area to the west.

THE PHARAONIC PERIOD. In Late Pre-dynastic times the conquering "Followers of Horus"⁸ seem to have introduced the cult of their falcon-god (Horus) into Eastern Libya, at least among

¹ xvii, l. 6-13. ² For *Stadiasmus* references, see J. Ball, op. cit. pp. 130 ff.

³ For *Scylax* references, see J. Ball, op. cit. p. 31.

⁴ xvii, l. 9. For the (following) Stephanus reference, see J. Ball, op. cit. p. 173. ⁵ xvii, l. 14.

⁶ xvii, l. 14. A. de Cosson, op. cit. p. 108, places Nicium at the site of the ancient jetty and quarry some kilometres east of Sidi Kireir (?).

⁷ xvii, l. 14. J. Ball, op. cit. p. 136, places Plinthine on the ruined site north-east of Sidi Kireir.

⁸ For the "Followers of Horus", see É. Drioton et J. Vandier, op. cit. pp. 132 f. 143 f., 157 f., 161-3 ; V. G. Childe, *The Most Ancient East* (1928), pp. 96 f. ; S. A. B. Mercer, *Horus Royal God of Egypt*, pp. 17 f., 54 f., 80 ff.

the Egyptianized Libyans. The famous "Lion-hunt" palette¹ shows some of this race, armed with bows, throwing-sticks and spears carrying the sacred falcon-standard, engaged in hunting lions and other animals in the desert plateaux.² At the end of the same early period the cult of the fish evidently obtained in Mareotis where, as was seen earlier, there was perhaps the *Nome of the Fish* and, later on, the port called "Place of Catching Fish", as well as the Ptolemaic fish-cult in the smaller of the two temples at Taposiris Magna. By the time of the First Dynasty, as doubtless indicated by the palette of Narmer (Menes), Horus was evidently the chief deity.

Secondary deities were Hathor (afterwards the tutelary goddess of the *Libyan Nome* of the Delta),³ and Neith, goddess of Sais in the Western Delta to whom a temple was erected by Aha, successor of Narmer. Aha's wife was actually named Neith-hetep, "Neith is Satisfied [with Her]".⁴ The cult of Neith was well established in Libya during the dynastic period, and a tattooed sign representing the emblem of her name—two bows tied in a package—appears on certain Libyans represented on Egyptian monuments.⁵ A statue of Neith, known to classical writers as Athena (Minerva), was sent to Battus II, king of Cyrene, by King Amasis of Egypt, 568-525 B.C.⁶

Under Zoser, first king of the Third Dynasty, worship was paid to the bull-god Apis at Zawyet Um el-Rakham, west of Marsa Matrouh; to the planet(?) Star-of-Horus at Mareotis; and to the god Seth—later associated with the Osirian cult—at the Western Desert (?) site of Hui. During the Fifth Dynasty

¹ The palette is figured in V. G. Childe, *op. cit.* Pl. XI. S. A. B. Mercer, *op. cit.* p. 48, would date the palette from about the time of Menes, but it would appear to have been made a little before this reign.

² For the Libyan culture and Oasis dwellers in predynastic times, see S. A. B. Mercer, *op. cit.* pp. 8, 12.

³ In the Fifth Dynasty Hathor had a shrine in the pyramid temple of Sahu-ra, c. 2550 B.C., at Abusir north of Saqqara, to which was dedicated some land in the *Libyan Nome*. References were made before to a stela of the time of Sheshonk IV, found in Mareotis, and referring to a gift of land to Hathor of Terenuthis, a site on the boundary of the Western Delta.

⁴ E. Drioton et J. Vandier, *op. cit.* p. 139.

⁵ O. Bates, *The Eastern Libyans* (1914), pp. 138 ff., 206; S. A. B. Mercer, *op. cit.* p. 49 f.

⁶ Herodotus, ii, 182.

the god "Horus of Libya" (*Her Thehenu*) is named on the walls of certain temples.¹

In the New Kingdom, actually from about 1425 B.C. onwards, the Egyptians erected temples at the military stations which, as I recently noticed, they then founded or rebuilt on certain coastal sites in the Western Desert, including sites on the western border of Egypt. Here are some details :

MAREOTIS

1. EL-BORDAN (Firuza, etc.). Rameses II. 1298-1232 B.C. Names of gods unknown.
2. EL-CHARBANTAT (charmonic name unknown). Rameses II. *Ra-Harmachis*.
3. MAREA ("Town of Rameses III which is by [Taenia Ridge]"). Rameses III. 1198-1166 B.C. Names of gods unknown.

WEST OF MAREOTIS

1. ZAWYET UM EL-RAKHAM (Apis).² Rameses II. *The bull-god Apis, Ptah of Memphis*.



FIG. 1.—Upper part of limestone stela of Rameses II from el-Alamein : the king, figured to left, is offering four pots of incense to the god *Ra-Harmachis* (in centre). On right is shown *Iry-Mit*, the local god of el-Alamein ; see Fig. 2. *Monument left in situ*.

¹ S. A. B. Mercer, *op. cit.* p. 49.

² The commandant of this fort, as I discovered, was a certain Neb-ia, a "beloved real royal scribe, head of troops, and overseer of the desert lands".

2. EL-ALAMEIN, "The Two Way-Marks" (pharaonic name unknown). Rameses II. *Horus-Behedyt, Ra, Shu, Ra-Harmachis*, and also the tutelary god apparently named *Imy-Mit*, "He Who is the The Highway", perhaps an allusion to the desert road running along the coast between Libya and Egypt.

BOUNDARY BETWEEN MAREOTIS AND THE DELTA¹

1. EZBET ABOU-SHWISH.² Tuthmosis IV, 1425-1405 B.C. ; Merenptah, 1232-1224 B.C. Names of gods unknown.
2. EL-KURUM EL-TUWAL.³ Rameses II and later. *Heka*, the god of magic (named on block from Late Egyptian temple).⁴ A representation of some king must once have been on the monument and it is not impossible that he was Nectanebus II, 359-341 B.C., who was famed as a great magician, and whose sarcophagus was found in Alexandria many years ago.
3. KARM ABOU-GIRG.⁵ Rameses II. *Atum*, the solar-god.

Although the cult of Osiris must have been known in the Western Desert much earlier, the sanctuary called "House of Osiris of Mareotis", later known as Taposiris Magna, is mentioned for the first time in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (663-525 B.C.). This sanctuary, together with two Mareotic monuments of the same dynasty, one the stela referring to a gift of land to Osiris (chief deity of the region) and the other the statue of a frontier overseer holding a naos of the god, have already been mentioned earlier as also has the statement of Procopius that the tomb of Osiris was at Taposiris. Procopius seems to confuse Taposiris with the capital of the neighbouring *Libyan Nome* of the Delta where the Temple of Osiris was believed to have contained the right thigh of the deity. Somewhere in Mareotis also was Iheny, a domain of Osiris in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

¹ For the Western Delta see S. A. B. Mercer, op. cit. pp. 48 ff.

² "The Village of the Father of the Soldier." In pharaonic times it was variously named *Castle of Merenptah which is in Per-It* ; *Hut-Sha* (Rameses III, said to be 8 *iteru*—20 kilometres—from the "Town of [Rameses III] which is by the Mountain of *Up-Ta*", namely, the town of Marea) ; and *Hut-en-Sha* (Thirtieth Dynasty).³ "The Long Vineyards".

⁴ R. Eilmann, A. Langsdorff, and H. E. Stier, in *Mitteil. d. Deutsh. Inst. Cairo*, i (1940), pp. 106-29 ; Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, etc., iv, p. 6.

⁵ "The Vineyard of the Father of George." Either this vineyard or the "Long Vineyards" may be the site anciently known as *Castle of [Rameses II] beloved like Atum on the Western Waters* ; *Fortress of the West* (Merenptah) ; and *House of [Rameses III] the town on the Western Canal*. The canal in question, also known as "Western Waters" (Rameses II), and "Waters of the Sun-God" (Rameses III and Nectanebos II) is now represented in part by the Nubariya Canal. Cf. A. de Cosson, op. cit. map at end.

According to Herodotus,¹ who visited Egypt about 450 B.C., the cult of Ammon of the Oasis of Siwa seems to have obtained both at Apis (Zawyet Um el-Rakham) and at Marea. Strabo² mentions that Paraetonium (Marsa Matrouh) was sometimes called Ammonia, which is clear evidence of the existence there, at least in his time, of a temple of Ammon.

In the Thirtieth Dynasty, 378-341 B.C., there still existed the cult of the bull-god at Apis. Also, as we have already seen, there were the "Cult Place" of some deity (Osiris?) at Marea and, to the south of Lake Mareotis, the sacred persea-tree as well as the "Field of the Scorpion", perhaps connected with the goddess Selkis. There also existed in Mareotis the region Iat-Bastet associated with the cat-goddess Bastet, the so-called Serapeum, and the town Beket sacred to the god Seker. Further, on the island in the lake there seems to have been an Iseum, on which island there was discovered some while ago a statuette of Isis belonging to the post-pharaonic period.

THE GRAECO-ROMAN PERIOD. The following short list includes not only mentions of the cults of certain sites referred to in the classical records but also details of these sites and of other sites known from outside sources including excavation records :

1. APIS (Zawyet Um el-Rakham). *Cult of the bull-god.*
2. PARAETONIUM, etc. (Marsa Matrouh). *Ammon.* Cf. O. Bates, *Excavations at Marsa-Matrouh*, in *Harvard African Studies*, viii, pp. 177 ff. A. Adriani, *Annuaire du Musée Greco-Romain 1935-1939* (1940), p. 159, gives other references to the site : "Breccia, 'Una statuetta del Buon Pastore da Marsa-Matrouh', *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Al.*, n. 26, p. 247 ss.; Guéraud 'Signature du plâtrier', *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Al.*, n. 30, p. 31 ss.; Breccia, *Le Musée Gr.-Rom.*, 1931-1932, p. 24 (inscription grecque de l'époque romain)." The ruins of a Graeco-Roman mausoleum exist at a place some 66 kilometres south-east of Marsa Matrouh, A. Adriani, op. cit. p. 161 (C), while not so far to the south-east of Marsa Matrouh, in the locality Haqfet Abd el-Raziq Kireim, is a Roman catacomb, and a little distance from the latter, actually at Haqfet Saad Hilwan, a Roman (?) bath. Op. cit. pp. 159 f., 161 (B). At 12 kilometres west of Marsa Matrouh is an enormous underground cistern nearly 900 metres long; cf. G. Walpole, *An Ancient Subterranean Aqueduct West of Marsa Matrouh*, Survey of Egypt (1932).

¹ ii, 18. In the time of Scylax (c. 350 B.C.), cf. J. Ball, op. cit. p. 30—the government of the Egyptians extended to Apis; even in Ramesside times this town was on the western boundary of Egypt. The modern boundary is at Salloum (Catabathmus Major).

3. EL-ALAMEIN. (This name is said to have been given to the site by the ex-Khedive Abbas Hilmi—A. de Cosson, *Mareotis*, pp. 124 f.). Mausoleum with loculi. A. Adriani, *Annuaire du Musée Greco-Romain*, 1935-1939, p. 162.



FIG. 2.—*Imy-Mit* god of el-Alamein (restored). See Fig. 1.

4. EL-QASABA EL-SHARKIYA, some 13 kilometres south-east of el-Alamein, and on the coast.¹ Ptolemaic (?) frontier post. A. de Cosson, op. cit. p. 122, and view opposite.

5. CATABATHMUS MINOR (el-Iqeiba). During the last World War some gold coins are said to have been discovered at a site to the north-west of Fuka, itself not far from el-Iqeiba. I am indebted to Professor Alan Wace for this information, which he had obtained from a competent source at Cambridge.

6. ALAM EL-MILH, "Way-Mark [of the Place] of Salt", identified by A. de Cosson, op. cit. p. 125, with Leucaspis; the latter site, however, is regarded by J. Ball, op. cit. p. 67, as Marsa el-Hamra. Graeco-Roman town and cemetery.

7. KHASHM EL-EISH, 23 kilometres south-east of el-Alamein and on a great headland. Massive Graeco-Roman (?) remains. A. de Cosson, op. cit. p. 120 f., and plan opposite.

8. VARIOUS OTHER SITES are referred to in A. de Cosson, op. cit. pp. 106-54, but where his identifications differ from those of J. Ball, op. cit. the work of the latter, being more recent, should be followed.

¹ Perhaps the "Kassabah el-Chammameh" of J. R. Pacho, *Voyage dans la Marmarique*, i, p. 13.

We have already mentioned Ptolemaic tombs at Taposiris Magna ; Graeco-Roman tombs at el-Hammam, south of Lake Mareotis, and at Qasaba el-Gharbiya (Monocaminum) near el-Alamein ; also a large temple of Osiris, a small temple dedicated to the cult of fish and birds, and a Nymphaeum, all at Taposiris Magna ;¹ an Iseum on an island in the lake ; remains of a Graeco-Roman temple (?) at Abou Seif Hasan south of the lake ; and the cult of the god Horus at Hierax and of that of the deified man Amenophis at Phamothis, both sites to the southwest of the lake.

From *Stadiasmus* we learn that at Leuce Acte, "White Cape" (Ras el-Hikma or Ras el-Kanayis), north of Catabathmus Minor, there was a "temple to Apollo (= the Egyptian Horus), with a celebrated oracle ; and there is water by the side of the temple".² Further, the name of another sea-coast place, Cynossema, "Dog's Monument", situated not far from Leucaspis, "White Shield", and mentioned by Strabo,³ suggests either a cult of the jackal-god Anubis or even the presence of a dog-shaped rock. Compare the legendary rock in the form of a dog, supposed to bark at the approach of an enemy, situated at the mouth of the Nahr el-Kalb, "Dog River", the ancient Lycos, in Syria.

Ptolemy the Geographer mentions three other sites in the regions west of Mareotis the names of which indicate the chief cults in those places :

1. NEMESIUM,⁴ south of Marsa Gargub, at the extreme west of the desert : *The goddess Nemesis*. There was a temple of Nemesis at Alexandria, near the site of the tomb of Sidi Abou-Dirda, from which came two monuments, one erected by the Nemesium to Moevia Tertia, daughter of Aulus, and the other dedicated by Titus Aelius Coelius to the goddess herself. Caesar had Pompey's head buried within its precincts.⁵ Also, in the great Hadrianic

¹ According to E. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum* (1922), p. 338, "Dioscorides and Pliny [state that] the region of Taposiris produced the best quality of *Absinthium marinum*, a plant which was much employed in the worship of Isis". Miss E. M. Rosser, an Assistant Keeper of the Manchester Museum, informs me that the plant in question is actually a kind of wormwood—Artemisia species—closely related to the plant absinth (*Artemisis absinthium*, Linn.).

² J. Ball, op. cit. p. 131.

³ xvii, l. 14 ; also J. Ball, op. cit. p. 67.

⁴ J. Ball, op. cit. p. 113.

⁵ Cf. my article in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, xxxv, pp. 28 ff.

catacombs of Kom el-Shukafa, in Alexandria, I found some burials of the priestesses of Nemesis; one priestess had interred with her a magnificent golden necklace with a pendant in the form of a wheel, the emblem of the deity.¹

2. GLAUCUS² promontory and village, the modern el-Imayid, west of Chimo; *Place of cult of the marine deity Glaucus*. Originally a fisherman of Anthedon, in Boeotia, Glaucus became immortal after eating part of the divine herb which Cronos had sown. He subsequently became a marine deity. In Greece it was believed that once in every year Glaucus visited all the coasts and islands and gave his prophecies. We may well assume that the Western Desert town of Glaucus was also the site of one of his yearly oracles, oracles which were patronized both by fishermen and sailors.
3. SELINUS.³ Selinus was son of Poseidon, god of the Mediterranean Sea. Herodotus⁴ says that the Greeks obtained their knowledge of Poseidon from the Libyans.⁵

¹ Loc. cit. For various references to Nemesis in inscriptions from Alexandria, etc., see G. Botti, *La Côte Alexandrine dans l'Antiquité* (1897), pp. 35 ff.

² J. Ball, op. cit. pp. 104, 114, 131, 136. A variant name is Glaucum.

³ Op. cit. pp. 104, 132, 137.

⁴ ii, 50. For details of the Libyan sea-gods see O. Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, pp. 185 f. Other Libyan deities are mentioned in op. cit. pp. 184 ff.

⁵ For further information on Mareotis, etc., the following works may be consulted :

(A) *Wines of Mareotis* : Athenaeus, i, 33; Virgil, *Georg.*, ii, 91; Strabo, xvii, l. 14; Horace, *Odes*, i, 37; D. Mallet, *Les Premiers Établissements des Grecs en Égypte* (1893), p. 347; W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, ii, pp. 272 f.; J. Bostock and H. T. Riley, *Natural History of Pliny*, vi (1857), p. 526 (index). Grapes are still cultivated in Mareotis and particularly at Ezbet Gianaclis to the south-east where wine is made from them.

(B) *Various* : E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni Greche e Latine*, pp. 105 f., no. 185 (lion's head spout—for running water—on block with zodiacal inscription); G. Botti, *Cat. des Monuments*, Alexandria, p. 4, no. 16 (Byzantine funerary monument)—both objects came from Mareotis; A. Adriani, *Annuario del Museo Greco-Romano*, i (1934), pp. 37 ff. (finds at el-Hamman, Ezbet Abou-Shawish, "Elwet el-Saarig", and "Elwet Abou Tafra"); G. Botti, *Studio sul III^o Nomo dell' Egitto inferiore e più specialmente sulla Regione Mareotica*, in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d' Arch. d' Alex.*, iv (1902), pp. 41 ff.; A. Weedon, "Report on the Mariout District," in *Cairo Scientific Journal*, vi (1912); B. St. John, *Adventures in the Libyan Desert* (1849); Mahmoud el-Falaki, *Mémoire sur l'Antique Alexandrie* (1872), pp. 69, 96 ff. (the Mareotis region); *Description de l'Égypte, Carte Topographique*, Pl. XXXVII (map of Mareotis); P. L. Prever, in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d' Arch. d' Alex.*, xxix, p. 327 ff. (report on the water of Lake Mareotis).

(C) *Ancient Libyan Tribes Between the Nile Valley and Apis*. Cf. O. Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, pp. 50 ff., and Maps II-IX. (1) PHARAONIC ERA : The Thehenu to the north, with the Themehu far to the south-east and adjacent to the west bank of the Nile. (2) CLASSICAL, ETC., ERA : The *Adyrmachidae*, supplanting the earlier Thehenu (Herodotus, iv, 168—who mentions also, iv, 181,

As regards the Arabic geographical names in this article these have been generally given in their more or less popular forms because I have not been able in every instance to consult either the original Arabic spellings or even their English or other transliterations. For the sake of the ordinary reader diacritical marks (as known to the Egyptologist) have been—with one exception, the word *rehu*¹ mentioned on page 128—omitted from the transliterations of the Egyptian hieroglyphical words.

the *Ammonii* of Siwa Oasis- and Scylax); the *Mareotae* of the lake region and the *Adyrmachidae* to the west (Pliny, v. 6); and, finally, from east to west, the *Mareotae*—with the *Nitriotae* to the south-east, the *Goniate*, *Mastitae*, *Adyrmachidae* and *Zyges* (Ptolemy the Geographer). In the time of Pliny and Ptolemy, at least, the region of the older Themehu was inhabited by the *Libyaegyptae*.

¹ Cf. the text on the clepsydra published in my article in Cahier no. 2 of *Annales du Service des Antiqués de l'Égypte* (1946).

THE BOOK OF EZEKIEL IN MODERN STUDY¹

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THE study of few books of the Bible has suffered a greater transformation in the last generation than that of the book of Ezekiel. In 1913 G. B. Gray wrote that "no other book of the Old Testament is distinguished by such decisive marks of unity of authorship and integrity as this",² and in the same year

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 11th of February 1953. The following abbreviations are used in the footnotes below: *A.J.S.L.* = *American Journal of Semitic Languages*; *B.A.* = *Biblical Archaeologist*; *B.A.S.O.R.* = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*; *Bi.Or.* = *Bibliotheca Orientalis*; *B.J.R.L.* = *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*; *C.Q.R.* = *Catholic Quarterly Review*; *D.B.* = *A Dictionary of the Bible*, edited by J. Hastings and J. A. Selbie; *E.T.* = *Expository Times*; *H.S.A.T.* = *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, 3rd edn., edited by E. Kautzsch; 4th edn., edited by A. Bertholet; *H.T.R.* = *Harvard Theological Review*; *H.U.C.A.* = *Hebrew Union College Annual*; *J.B.L.* = *Journal of Biblical Literature*; *J.N.E.S.* = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*; *J.P.O.S.* = *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*; *J.R.* = *Journal of Religion*; *J.T.S.* = *Journal of Theological Studies*; *M.G.W.J.* = *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*; *O.L.Z.* = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*; *P.G.* = *Patrologia Graeca*; *P.L.* = *Patrologia Latina*; *R.B.* = *Revue Biblique*; *R.H.R.* = *Revue de l'Historie des Religions*; *S.A.T.* = *Die Schriften des Alten Testaments in Auswahl*; *S.E.Å.* = *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok*; *Th.L.Z.* = *Theologische Literaturzeitung*; *Th.R.* = *Theologische Rundschau*; *Th.Z.* = *Theologische Zeitung*; *T.S.K.* = *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*; *V.T.* = *Vetus Testamentum*; *Z.A.W.* = *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*; *Z.D.M.G.* = *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*; *Z.Th.K.* = *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*.

² Cf. *A Critical Introduction to the Old Testament* (1913), p. 198. Even more emphatic was R. Smend, *Der Prophet Ezechiel* (1880), p. xxi: "Das ganze Buch ist veilmehr die logische Entwicklung einer Reihe von Gedanken nach einem wohlüberlegten und z.Th. ganz schematischen Plane, man könnte kein Stück herausnehmen, ohne das ganz Ensemble zu zerstören." More than one writer has criticized the extravagance of this statement. Cf. L. Dennefeld, *La Saint Bible*, ed by Pirot and Clamer, vii (1947), p. 462; A. Lods, *Histoire de la littérature hébraïque et juive* (1950), p. 445. C. C. Torrey, *Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy* (1930), p. 20, cited Smend's statement with approval, save that he omitted the last eleven words—an omission to which S. Spiegel, *H.T.R.*, xxiv (1931), p. 279, draws attention, since Torrey himself excises a considerable number of pieces.

appeared the ninth edition of S. R. Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, in which a similar statement appeared.¹ There had, indeed, been several isolated challenges to this view, but so little following had they secured that they seemed negligible, and the scholars who analysed and dissected so many books of the Old Testament were in general agreed that here, at least, was a book which did not yield to analysis and distribution amongst a number of authors.²

Today this is no longer the case, and in the years that have passed since Gray's words were published there has been greater activity in Ezekiel criticism than in any previous comparable period,³ and it is hard to give a simple and clear account of the

¹ Cf. p. 279 : "No critical question arises in connection with the authorship of the book, the whole from beginning to end bearing unmistakably the stamp of a single mind". Similarly H. A. Redpath, *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel* (1907), p. xiv : "Scarcely any doubt has ever been cast even by the extremest critics upon the unity and authenticity of the book, though a few glosses and interpretative words or notes may have found their way into the text." C. G. Howie, *The Date and Composition of Ezekiel* (1950), p. 2, quotes from J. E. McFadyen, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York, 1933), p. 162, the statement that "corrupt as the text is in many places in Ezekiel, we have the rare satisfaction of studying a carefully elaborated prophecy whose authenticity is practically indisputed and indisputable", and observes (p. 103) that McFadyen had either failed to keep up or discounted the works of Hölscher and Torrey as of no importance. Actually in the London edition of McFadyen's work, published in 1932, the sentence quoted above read "whose authenticity has, till recently, been practically undisputed" (p. 187), and on pp. 201-3 there was an account of the work of Hölscher, Smith, and Torrey, with which he was well acquainted, while in *E.T.*, xliv (1932-3), pp. 471 ff., he had published an account of Herntrich's positions. Indeed, on p. 474b he had stated his conclusion that it is highly probable that Ezekiel was not an exilic prophet. He had therefore yielded to the modern views to some extent. Far more surprising than McFadyen's statement is that made by S. Fisch, *Ezekiel* (Soncino Books of the Bible) (1950), p. xiv a : "There has never been doubt cast upon the unity of the Book. Not even the more advanced Biblical critics have suggested a Deutero- or a Trito-Ezekiel".

² To list all the scholars who adopted this view would be wearisome, since it was the normal view of scholars of all schools, whether critical or conservative, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant. The book of Ezekiel provided one of the very few points in the Old Testament where all were agreed.

³ L. Dennefeld, *La Sainte Bible*, ed. by Pirot and Clamer, vii (1947), p. 464, complained of the extravagance of recent theory. It is certainly calculated to fill the student with wonder as to whether present-day scholarship has any objective standards.

immense variety of view put forward.¹ It is curious to observe that during this same period there have been many challenges to the findings of critical scholars on the books which they *did* dissect, whereas here the challenge arises because they *did not* dissect.² There have been more cross currents in Old Testament scholarship during this period than ever before, and many questions can no longer be regarded as settled by a simple appeal to "the consensus of scholarship". At the same time it must be said that they can no more be regarded as settled by appealing to the rejection of the consensus of former days. For while many can be found to agree in rejecting an earlier view, it is often found that their agreement quickly dissolves into wide disagreement as to what is to be set in its place.

This is particularly true of the book of Ezekiel. For while many scholars have rejected the view of Gray and Driver—the "critical orthodoxy" of the great days of literary criticism—they offer no consensus whatever on the substitution of a different view.³ In the present lecture our attention will be concentrated on three questions, though they cannot be kept separate from one another. These are the unity of the book, the date of its composition, and the place where the prophet exercised his ministry.

The simple reading of the book of Ezekiel will produce on the reader the impression of unity,⁴ and this unity, as has been said,

¹ Cf. C. C. Torrey, *J.B.L.*, lviii (1939), p. 78: "Quite recently, the long-standing picture of unity and harmony has been violently disturbed. It is as though a bomb had been exploded in the book of Ezekiel, scattering the fragments in all directions. One scholar gathers them up and arranges them in one way, another makes a different combination."

² A succinct account of these challenges will be found in *The Old Testament and Modern Study* (1951), ed. by H. H. Rowley, particularly in C. R. North's chapter on the Pentateuch. Briefer reference to the challenges may be found in the writer's *The Growth of the Old Testament* (1950).

³ J. E. Steinmueller, *A Companion to Scripture Studies*, 2nd edn., ii (1942), p. 265 n., dismisses them in a sentence on this ground.

⁴ Cf. J. Skinner, in Hastings's *D.B.*, i (1898), p. 817 a: "Not only does it bear the stamp of a single mind in its phraseology, its imagery and its mode of thought, but it is arranged on a plan so perspicuous and so comprehensive that the evidence of literary design in the composition becomes altogether irresistible"; A. Lods, *op. cit.*, pp. 443 f.: "Le livre d'Ézéchiel fait une forte impression

was allowed by the great majority of older scholars and still commands not a few supporters.¹ There is a strongly marked character about the whole, and the somewhat strange personality of Ezekiel makes itself felt everywhere. His call is represented as coming to him in Babylonia² in the year 593 B.C.,³ and all his work is said to have been done amongst the exiles of the first captivity, in whose midst he lived. It is true that many of his prophecies are addressed to Jerusalem, and he is sometimes apparently transported by air to the sacred city in a way that has

d'unité. La cohésion de toutes les parties de l'ouvrage a longtemps semblé aux critiques s'imposer avec la force de l'évidence. On retrouve partout le même style, le même esprit très particulier, les mêmes idées."

¹ Of recent scholars who, since the issue of the modern challenges, have adhered to the view of the substantial unity of the book, we may note the following: (a) Roman Catholic: L. Hudal and J. Ziegler, *Précis d'Introduction à l'Ancien Testament*, French trans. by M. Grandclaudon (1938), pp. 217 f.; M. Schumpp, *Das Buch Ezechiel* (Herders Bibelkommentar) (1942), pp. 1 f.; H. Haag, *Was lehrt die literarische Untersuchung des Ezechiel-Textes?* (1943), p. 126; H. Höpfl, *Introductio specialis in Vetus Testamentum*, 5th edn., revised by A. Miller and A. Metzinger (1946), pp. 465 f.; L. Dennefeld, *La Sainte Bible*, ed. by Pirot and Clamer, vii (1946), pp. 461 ff.; J. Chaine, in *Initiation Biblique*, ed. by Robert and Tricot, 2nd edn. (1948), pp. 140 ff.; F. Spadafora, *Ezechiele* (1948), pp. 15 ff. (on this, cf. the long article by J. García Ramos, *Estudios Bíblicos*, ix (1950), pp. 39-66, 129-57); J. Ziegler, *Ezechiel* (Echter Bibel vi) (1948), pp. 6 ff.; E. Power, in *A Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture* (1953), pp. 601 ff.; (b) Protestant: R. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iii (1927), pp. 144 ff.; W. L. Wardle, in *The Abingdon Bible Commentary* (1929), pp. 714 ff.; J. Meinhold, *Einführung in das Alte Testament*, 3rd edn. (1932), pp. 269 ff.; O. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1934), pp. 411 f. (cf. also J.P.O.S., xvi (1936), pp. 286 ff.); E. Sellin, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 7th edn. (1935), p. 100 (cf. 8th edn., revised by L. Rost (1950), p. 120); G. A. Cooke, *The Book of Ezekiel* (I.C.C.) (1937), pp. xx ff.; B. Balscheit, *Der Gottesbund* (1943), pp. 189 ff.; E. Bruston, *La Bible du Centenaire*, ii (1947), p. xxvii; J. Paterson, *The Goodly Fellowship of Prophets* (1948), pp. 161 f.; Th. C. Vriezen, *Oudisraëlitische Geschriften* (1948), pp. 174 ff.; *The Westminster Study Bible* (1948), pp. 1162 ff.; E. J. Young, *An Introduction to the Old Testament* (1949), pp. 234 ff.; A. Weiser, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 2nd edn. (1949), pp. 166 ff.; A. Lods, *Histoire de la littérature hébraïque et juive* (1950), pp. 443 ff. (cf. *The Prophets and the Rise of Judaism*, English trans by S. H. Hooke (1937), p. 213); C. G. Howie, *The Date and Composition of Ezekiel* (1950), pp. 85 ff.; C. J. Mullo Weir, *V.T.*, ii (1952), pp. 97 ff.

² At Tel Abib. S. Löwinger, in *Études Orientales* (Hirschler Memorial Volume), ed. by O. Komlós (1950), pp. 62 ff., argues that this is not a place-name, but that it means "mound of desolation", and stands for the exiles themselves.

³ *Ezek.* i. 2.

puzzled students of the book. Ezekiel is quite unlike the great pre-exilic prophets in that he takes much interest in the details of the ritual of the Temple, and in the concluding chapters of his book we are offered a sketch of the restored Temple and its service that contrasts strangely with those earlier prophetic denunciations of the cultus, which have led many scholars to conclude that they would destroy it root and branch.¹

Until about thirty years ago, almost all scholars were agreed in thus accepting the book at its face value, and Ezekiel was frequently referred to as the "father of Judaism".² Of the small minority of scholars who adopted a different view I shall not speak here, since they cannot claim a place in a paper devoted to "modern study".³ Nor can more than a selection of more recent work be surveyed, since my purpose is not to exhaust my subject or my hearers but to illustrate the variety and fluidity of current views. Such views as are presented will be dealt with as objectively as possible, with a minimum of critical examination.

¹ For a study of this question, cf. the writer's paper "The Meaning of Sacrifice in the Old Testament", *B.J.R.L.*, xxxiii (1950-1), pp. 74 ff.

² So still by J. M. Powis Smith, *The Prophets and their Time* (1925), pp. 161 ff. In the second edn., however, ed. by W. A. Irwin (1941), p. 216, this is reversed and we read: "The Book of Ezekiel is not the father, but the child, of Judaism." E. Sellin, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, English trans. by W. Montgomery (1923), p. 154, recognized in Ezekiel "the real father of Judaism", and the judgement remained unchanged in the 7th edn. of the German text (1935), p. 99, and in the 8th edn. revised by L. Rost (1950), p. 119.

³ For a review of the history of the criticism of Ezekiel from the time of Oeder, cf. S. Spiegel, *H.T.R.*, xxiv (1931), pp. 245 ff.; O. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1934), pp. 412 ff.; R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (1941), pp. 525 ff.; W. A. Irwin, *The Problem of Ezekiel* (1943), pp. 5 ff.; C. G. Howie, op. cit. (1950), pp. 1 ff. and G. Fohrer, *Die Hauptprobleme des Buches Ezechiel* (1952), pp. 5 ff. (The last named work was not released until 1953, and reached me on the day when the present lecture was delivered, too late to be of use in its preparation.) For a review of the literature of the last thirty years, cf. C. Kuhl, *Th.R.*, N.F. v (1933), pp. 92 ff., xx (1952), pp. 1 ff. Cf. also G. Fohrer's review of literature on the prophetic books generally, *ibid.*, xix (1951), pp. 277 ff., xx (1952), pp. 193 ff. Other reviews of recent literature on Ezekiel will be found in several of the works referred to below, and especially by O. Eissfeldt in *The Old Testament and Modern Study*, ed. by H. H. Rowley (1951), pp. 153 ff. Cf. also now W. A. Irwin, *V.T.*, iii (1953), pp. 54 ff., which appeared when the present lecture was completed.

The modern period of the study of this book opened nearly thirty years ago with the most drastic dismemberment it has yet suffered. It suffered this at the hands of G. Hölscher,¹ who denied the prophet more than about one seventh of the whole book, and ascribed the rest to a fifth century editor.² Hölscher started with the canon that Ezekiel was a poet, who is unlikely to have been the author of the poor prose in which much of the book is written. He allowed him a few prose passages, but on the other hand he denied him some of the poetic passages, which are not written in the metre which Ezekiel usually employed.³

¹ *Hesekiel, der Dichter und das Buch* (1924). In his *Geschichte der israelitischen und jüdischen Religion* (1922), p. 114, Hölscher had described the book of Ezekiel as a fifth century pseudepigraph, which utilized some literary remains of the true Ezekiel and which was subsequently added to by later hands. With this, cf. Hölscher's earlier work, *Die Profeten* (1914), pp. 298 ff., where the whole book was treated as substantially the work of Ezekiel. Hölscher's later view is followed by A. von Gall, *Basileia tou Theou* (1926), pp. 175, 200 f., but is dismissed as "amazingly unscientific tinkering", by Torrey, *J.B.L.*, liii (1934), p. 299. Cf. W. F. Lofthouse, *Israel after the Exile* (Clarendon Bible) (1928), p. 68: "To cut away half the book, in the absence of direct evidence for its lateness, can hardly be called scientific criticism." Against Hölscher cf. W. Kessler, *Die innere Einheitlichkeit des Buches Ezechiel* (1926); G. A. Cooke, *J.T.S.*, xxvii (1926), pp. 201 ff.; V. Herntrich, *Ezechielprobleme* (1932), pp. 12 ff.; and J. Battersby Harford, *Studies in the Book of Ezekiel* (1935), pp. 13 ff. H. Duensing *Th.L.Z.*, I (1925), col. 268, says: "Auf alle Fälle ist das der bleibende Wert der Arbeit Hölschers, dass er eine Seite des Ezechiel ins hellste Licht gestellt hat, die niemand so klar erkannt und gewürdigt hat wie er." W. Zimmerli, *Z. Th.K.*, xlvi (1951), pp. 249 ff., brings out some of the features of Ezekiel's work which even the most drastic criticism leaves. With Hölscher's view, cf. what S. Mowinckel had earlier said, *Ezra den Skriftlærde* (1916), pp. 125 f. (also Mowinckel's *Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia* (1914), p. 4). A. Bentzen, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 2nd edn., ii (1952), p. 125, says: "In reality most of Hölscher's critics in principle accept his point of view. The book as it stands now is no authentic work of the prophet Ezekiel."

² W. A. L. Elmslie, *How Came our Faith* (1948), p. 191 n., declares himself of the opinion that "the material in the Book of Ezekiel is very far from being the product of one man; that much of it belongs to the consideration of post-exilic Judaism; and that while certain of its oracular passages are of pre-exilic date, these do not add any development of thought not covered by the eight great personalities".

³ Hölscher recognized twenty-one passages as genuine, of which sixteen were in poetry. These together cover in whole or in part some 170 verses out of a total of 1,273 contained in the book.

Some twenty years later Irwin¹ reached results almost as drastic as those of Hölscher, but along other lines. Starting from chapter xv he argued that verses in which the interpretation of oracles is to be found show a misunderstanding of the oracles themselves and therefore cannot come from the prophet himself.² This method was then extended throughout the book, with the result that Ezekiel was left with some 250 verses, as against the 170 which Hölscher had allowed him.³

In the meantime two other writers had independently but almost simultaneously attacked the book from a quite different angle. While both recognized the substantial unity of Ezekiel both maintained that the work originally had a Palestinian setting, and not a Babylonian, and that its first ascription was to a prophet who lived in the time of Manasseh, in the seventh century B.C. Subsequent editing, however, transferred it to the sixth century, and gave the Babylonian setting to the prophet's work which it now has. These two writers were C. C. Torrey⁴ and James

¹ *The Problem of Ezekiel* (1943). Cf. the reviews by A. van den Born, *Bi.Or.*, iv (1947), p. 120, and Louise Pettibone Smith, *J.B.L.*, lxviii (1949), pp. 384 ff.

² In *V.T.*, iii (1953), p. 64 n., Professor Irwin complains that in a brief twelve line review I was unfair to him in writing "Every interpretation of an oracle is rejected as coming from a later hand", and refers me to p. 274 of his book, where he recognizes some brief genuine interpretations and cites three verses in illustration. I regret any inaccuracy even in so brief a review, and in substituting the reading "almost every interpretation" express my apologies. The amount of allowed interpretation amongst the 251 genuine verses recognized by Irwin is certainly very slight as compared with the amount rejected amongst the thousand verses jettisoned. I greatly value Professor Irwin's warm friendship, and would avoid any semblance of unfairness to him.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 283, where Irwin says he allows 251 verses to be genuine, in whole or in part, "the proportion of their originality varying from complete genuineness down to a bare remnant of not more than a word or two".

⁴ *Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy* (1930). For criticisms of Torrey's work, cf. K. Budde, *J.B.L.*, i (1931), pp. 20 ff.; S. Spiegel, *H.T.R.*, xxiv (1931), pp. 245 ff. (cf. Torrey's reply, *J.B.L.*, liii (1934), pp. 291 ff. and Spiegel's rejoinder, *ibid.*, liv (1935), pp. 144 ff.); C. Kuhl, *Th.L.Z.*, lvii (1932), cols. 27 ff.; W. F. Albright, *J.B.L.*, li (1932), pp. 97 ff. (cf. Torrey's reply, *ibid.*, pp. 179 ff.); W. E. Barnes, *J.T.S.*, xxxv (1934), pp. 163 ff.; J. Battersby Harford, *E.T.*, xliv (1931-2), pp. 20 ff., and *Studies in the Book of Ezekiel* (1935), pp. 38 ff. G.A. Barton, in *The Haverford Symposium on Archaeology and the Bible* (1938), p. 63, says: "The theory is set forth with all of Torrey's ingenuity (and he is very ingenious) and persuasiveness. It is, however, too ingenious. As one reads he is led to doubt that, were the theory true, even Torrey could have detected it!"

Smith.¹ There were important differences between them, however, as well as some similarities.

Torrey held that the work was from the beginning a pseudepigraph, and not the genuine work of Ezekiel. The prophet was thus a literary creation and not a real prophet at all. Torrey maintained that his creator lived in the third century B.C., and wrote the book, in its original form, about 230 B.C.² In this original form the supposed prophet is said to have been given a ministry in Palestine in the days of Manasseh. Somewhat later than 230 B.C. an editor is held to have revised the book and to have removed the prophet to a later age. This editor is thought to have had an anti-Samaritan bias, and chapters xl-xlviii are said to be the plan of a Temple that should surpass the Samaritan Temple on Gerizim. Smith, on the other hand, believed that Ezekiel was a real person, who lived and worked in northern Israel in the time of Manasseh,³ and who wrote the sketch of the restored Temple with a northern sanctuary in mind, but whose work was later revised and whose ministry was transferred by the reviser to a later age. Smith gives great emphasis to the recurring phrase "house of Israel", which is held to point to the north, and thinks that Ezekiel was a northerner who was deported in 734 B.C., but who returned to Palestine in 691 B.C.

L. Dennefeld, *Introduction à l'Ancien Testament* (1935), p. 172, dismisses the views of Hölscher and Torrey as too subjective to merit consideration. O. Eissfeldt, *Palästinajahrbuch*, xxvii (1931), pp. 58 ff., finds evidence in Ezek. xvi. 26 f. for the reckoning from 597 B.C. in the book of Ezekiel, in an allusion that a later author or editor is unlikely to have made, and uses this evidence against Hölscher and Torrey.

¹ *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel: a New Introduction* (1931). Cf. the criticism of Smith in J. Battersby Harford, *Studies in the Book of Ezekiel*, pp. 31 ff. W. A. L. Elmslie, on the other hand, holds that more respectful attention ought to be paid to Smith's contribution. Cf. *Essays and Studies presented to S. A. Cook* (1950), p. 17.

² Irwin, op. cit., p. 12, notes that Torrey is more radical than Hölscher: "At the worst, Hölscher is by a safe margin of some 170 verses, in whole or in part, less radical than certain other famous critics, for they delete the *entire* Book of Ezekiel; still worse, they delete Ezekiel himself also!"

³ Cf. C. Kuhl, *Th.L.Z.*, lvii (1932), col. 29: "Aus nummehr über zwanzig-jähriger Beschäftigung mit den Hes.-Problemen ist mir je länger je mehr deutlich geworden, dass Hes. kaum Exilsprophet gewesen sein kann . . . , und dass als Zeit seiner Wirksamkeit die Regierung Manasses manches für sich hat."

and there continued to preach.¹ Three oracles are held to have been delivered to the northern exiles,² and the rest to the people in Palestine. These two scholars were therefore primarily concerned with the date of the prophet, either fictitious or real, and with the sphere in which he worked, rather than with the breaking down of the unity of the book. Both, however, detected the hand of a later editor, who had radically transformed the whole book.

Shortly afterwards Herntrich combined the two approaches.³ Like Torrey and Smith he recognized a Palestinian setting for Ezekiel's ministry. Unlike them, however, he did not remove Ezekiel from his ostensible age. The oracles addressed to Jerusalem were held to have been delivered there, and the things represented as seen to have been seen in person on the spot, and not by second sight from a distance, as has often been held.⁴ On the other hand, Herntrich found greater evidence of editorial activity in the book than Torrey and Smith had done, though he denied the prophet far less than Hölscher and Irwin. Herntrich held that a disciple of Ezekiel's, himself living in the period of the Exile, edited his master's work and added much to it. The whole

¹ Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 95 f. hazards the suggestion that Ezekiel may have been "the priest sent back to teach the new settlers the manner of the God of the land".

² *Ibid.*, p. 91 n. The three passages are xx. 32 ff.; xxxvi. 16-32; xxxvii. 11-14.

³ *Ezechielprobleme* (1932). For criticisms of Herntrich, cf. G. A. Cooke, *The Book of Ezekiel*, pp. xxii ff., and C. G. Howie, *The Date and Composition of Ezekiel*, pp. 5 ff. C. C. Torrey, *J.B.L.*, liii (1934), p. 291 n., dismissed Herntrich in a line, saying, "I have been unable to find anything useful, not already known, in Herntrich's *Ezechielprobleme*". In his *Geschichte des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes*, ii (1932), pp. 34 ff., E. Sellin offered some criticisms of Herntrich's positions before the publication of his book, and to these Herntrich replied in *Ezechielprobleme*, p. 131 ff. J. Lindblom, *Profetismen in Israel* (1934), p. 302, holds Herntrich's view to be mistaken.

⁴ Herntrich is willing to allow the possibility that Ezekiel joined the exiles in Babylonia after 586 B.C., but assigns him no effective ministry there (cf. *Ezechielprobleme*, p. 126). At the opposite extreme was M. Buttenwieser, who assigned the prophet no effective ministry before 586 B.C. He held that chapters i-xxxii are entirely *vaticinia ex eventu*, and maintained on the basis of xxxiii. 21 f. and xxiv. 25 ff., that Ezekiel kept silence until the fall of Jerusalem. Cf. *H.U.C.A.*, vii (1930), pp. 1 ff.

of the section contained in chapters xl-xlviii was attributed to this disciple,¹ as well as not a little in the earlier chapters.

Herntrich's work greatly influenced Oesterley and Robinson² in their treatment of this prophet, though they did not wholly agree with him. They placed the call of the prophet in the reign of Jehoiakim, instead of in that of Zedekiah, and made his work begin even before the first captivity of Judah.³ They held, however, that he was deported to Babylonia with the exiles of

¹ These chapters were all rejected from the original book by Hölscher. They are also rejected by N. H. Snaith, in *A Companion to the Bible*, ed. by T. W. Manson (1939), pp. 423 f. The first scholar to challenge the originality of these chapters was G. L. Oeder, whose *Freye Untersuchung über einige Bücher des Alten Testaments* (written 1756) was posthumously published by G. J. L. Vogel in 1771. Cf. pp. 341 ff. Oeder cited the obscure tradition in Josephus, *Antiq.* X, v. 1 (x. 79), that Ezekiel left two books behind (pp. 347 ff.). This has been frequently referred to by later writers who have propounded divisive theories. R. Marcus, *Josephus* (Loeb edn.), vi (1937), p. 201 n., says Josephus probably thought of the book of Ezekiel as composed of two parts of twenty-four chapters each. An anonymous writer in the *Monthly Magazine and British Register*, v (1798), pp. 189 f., distinguished between the author of Ezek. i-xxiv and the author of xxv-xxxii, perhaps xxxv, and xxxviii f., and suggested that the latter group of chapters, together with much of the book of Isaiah (cf. *Monthly Review*, enlarged series, xxiii (1797), pp. 491 f.) and Jer. xlvi-li, were the work of Daniel, who was "a sort of poet laureat" to Nebuchadrezzar, but not the author of the book of Daniel (which is ascribed to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes). (I have not been able to secure access to Oeder's book in this country, and I learn that even in Halle, where it was published, no copy is found in the University Library. Professor O. Eissfeldt of Halle has, however, secured access to a copy and generously supplied me with references to this work. Nowhere is Oeder specified by name in the volume as the author, the title page merely stating that it is by the "Verfasser der christlich freyen Untersuchung über die so genannte Offenbarung Johannis", but L. Diestel, *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christlichen Kirche* (1869), p. 604 n., names Oeder as the author and states that it was written in 1756. This reference, too, I owe to Professor Eissfeldt. The translator of the *Christlich Freye Untersuchung . . . Johannis* into English, A. G. Moller, had already in 1852 stated in his Preface that Oeder was the author of this work). [Since the foregoing note was written a microfilm of Oeder's book has been obtained for the Manchester University Library.]

² *Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament* (1934), pp. 318 ff., esp. pp. 328 ff. T. H. Robinson had earlier held that Ezekiel had actually "edited" the present book, and had treated the whole as the genuine work of the prophet. Cf. *Prophecy and the Prophets in Ancient Israel* (1923), p. 145.

³ The call of Ezekiel is placed soon after Jehoiakim's revolt in 602 B.C. (*Introduction*, p. 328). Cf. Irwin, *The Problem of Ezekiel*, p. 323, where the call of Ezekiel is placed either shortly before the events of 600 B.C. or shortly after.

597 B.C., and thereafter continued his work there. A double ministry is therefore postulated. Reflecting Herntrich's influence even more closely was a monograph by Battersby Harford, in which recent work was critically examined.¹

Next came Bertholet's commentary on Ezekiel.² At the end of last century he had published a commentary on Ezekiel,³ and it is instructive to compare with this his second commentary,⁴ published a few years after Herntrich's book had appeared. This was clearly influenced by Herntrich, though Bertholet by no means wholly followed him. Like Oesterley and Robinson Bertholet ascribed to the prophet a double ministry, but placed his call later than they did.⁵ Accepting the date given for his call in the book of Ezekiel, he held that Ezekiel prophesied in Palestine from 593 B.C. to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, when he was carried into captivity with the second company of exiles.⁶ Bertholet found evidence of two separate calls of Ezekiel combined in chapters i-iii,⁷ and argued that the second of these inaugurated the Palestinian ministry and the first the Babylonian. Like Herntrich, Bertholet attributed the compilation of the book to a later editor, who interpolated the work and who transferred the prophet's ministry wholly to Babylonia.

¹ *Studies in the Book of Ezekiel* (1935).

² *Hesekiel* (in Eissfeldt's *Handbuch zum Alten Testament*) (1936). In this K. Galli wrote the portion dealing with xl. 1-xlii. 20 and xlivi. 10-17, and the introduction to these chapters (pp. xix ff.). Cf. the appreciative review by M.-L. Dumeste, *R.B.*, xlvi (1937), pp. 430 ff., and the critical review by P. Heinisch, *Theologische Revue*, xxxvi (1937), cols. 220 ff. Cf. Torrey's comments on Bertholet's method, *J.B.L.*, lviii (1939), pp. 79 ff. G. A. Barton, in *The Haverford Symposium*, pp. 65 f., says: "At the moment the problem of Ezekiel is the most difficult and thorny in the whole Old Testament, but the theory of Bertholet seems to promise a sane solution."

³ *Das Buch Hesekiel* (in Marti's *Kurzer Hand-Commentar*), 1897.

⁴ Bertholet himself says: "Fast darf ich sagen, es sei vom früheren kein Stein auf dem andern stehen geblieben" (1936 commentary, p. v). For a comparison between the two commentaries, cf. S. Spiegel, *J.B.L.*, lvi (1937), pp. 403 ff., and for a long and careful review of the second, cf. M.-L. Dumeste *R.B.*, xlvi (1937), pp. 430 ff.

⁵ Cf. also Bertholet's paper "Hesekielprobleme", in *Mélanges Franz Cumont* ii (1936), pp. 517 ff.

⁶ R. H. Pfeiffer substantially follows this view. Cf. *Introduction to the Old Testament* (1941), pp. 536, 539 f. ⁷ Found in i. 4-ii. 2 and ii. 3-iii. 9.

The work of the editor was reduced to somewhat smaller proportions, however, and a substantial part of chapters xl-xlviii was left to the prophet.¹

On G. A. Cooke² the views of Herntrich left less mark, and he stood nearer to the older positions than did Bertholet. Nevertheless he was not entirely uninfluenced by recent study. He rejected the transfer of Ezekiel's ministry to Palestine, and held that the prophet worked only in Babylonia. He preferred to seek along psychological lines the explanation of the strange phenomena recorded in the text, and clung to the view of the substantial unity of the whole book. At the same time he recognized a larger number of secondary expansions than the older scholars had done at the beginning of the century, and marked a number of sections in the concluding chapters as such expansions.³

I. G. Matthews,⁴ who worked largely independently,⁵ reached results more akin to those of Herntrich, though not in full

¹ Dumeste ended his review, loc. cit., p. 436, by saying: "Nous sommes en face d'un très beau livre, qui sans se perdre en dissertations érudites sur tel ou tel point d'histoire ou d'archéologie, dit tout ce qu'on désire savoir sur le prophète Ézéchiel. De toutes façons, autant par la pondération des jugements que par la proportion harmonieuse des parties, c'est un ouvrage équilibré."

² *The Book of Ezekiel* (I.C.C.), 1936. Cf. the long review by P. Benoit, *R.B.*, xlvii (1938), pp. 597 ff. E. Bruston, *La Bible du Centenaire*, ii (1947), pp. xxv ff., adheres more closely to the traditional view of the book than does Cooke.

³ Writers who keep even closer to the older positions than Cooke have recognized additional matter in chapters xl-xlviii. So, e.g., P. Heinisch, *Das Buch Ezechiel* (1923), p. 227: "Manche Stücke aber sind von einem (oder mehreren) Redaktoren eingeschoben worden. Der anteil des Propheten und des Redaktors ist nicht immer zu scheiden." Cf. also W. L. Wardle, *The Abingdon Bible Commentary* (1929), p. 715b.

⁴ *Ezekiel* (An American Commentary on the Old Testament) (1939). Cf. also the same author's *Religious Pilgrimage of Israel* (1947), pp. 166 f. On p. 166 n. he says that since he published his commentary "an important contribution has been made by W. A. Irwin, *The Problem of Ezekiel*, in which the critical studies have been carried to a new conclusion". From this it would appear that he was prepared to modify his views in the direction of Irwin's. In the text above on the same page he observes: "Only a small part of the present book of Ezekiel seems to have come directly from the poet-prophet himself."

⁵ Cf. Irwin, op. cit., p. 28 n., where Matthews's authority is given for the statement that much of his work was done before the appearance of Hölscher's book, and that it was then reworked before the appearance of Herntrich's. "My results", says Matthews, "corresponded in a large measure with Herntrich. My final re-working was scarcely influenced by him."

agreement with him. He holds that the ministry of Ezekiel was wholly Palestinian, and that his work was edited in the period of the exile by a Babylonian editor, who compiled the section contained in chapters xl-xlviii from two separate sources. He also finds evidence of a third principal hand, of the apocalyptic school.¹ Throughout the book he found much secondary material, and though he does not carry this to the lengths of Irwin and Hölscher, he is hailed by Irwin as being on the right lines.²

A few other writers have reflected more closely the views of Bertholet. In a posthumous work Wheeler Robinson confessed³ that he had been slowly driven to accept the view that Ezekiel worked first in Palestine and then in Babylonia,⁴ and that two originally separate accounts of his call have been combined. Of these one belongs to the Palestinian ministry and the other to the Babylonian. Similarly van den Born⁵ and Auvray⁶

¹ Matthews says (p. xxx) : "Ezekiel was a mystic, cultivating the inner light ; his disciple was a priest, believing in sacramental grace ; and the apocalyptic, failing to find God in history, turned expectantly to the age that was to be and put all his hope in the wonder-working God."

² Op. cit., p. 28. J. P. Hyatt, *Prophetic Religion* (1947), p. 28, declares Matthews right in principle, though he is not convinced that his interpretation is final.

³ Cf. *Two Hebrew Prophets* (1948), pp. 75, 81 ff. In his earlier work, *The Old Testament, its Making and Meaning* (1937), pp. 104 ff., he followed the view which had so long been normal. Cf. p. 107 : "No other prophet is so consecutive in the arrangement of his book, whether this be due to Ezekiel himself or to his editors. The only part in which it is necessary to suppose that there have been considerable alterations or additions is the last nine chapters, which outline the restored Jewish temple and city" ; p. 108 : "None of the divisions as yet suggested, whether based on time or on place, has won general assent."

⁴ So also J. Delorme, in *Mémorial J. Chaine* (1950), pp. 115 ff.

⁵ *De historische situatie van Ezechiels Prophetie* (1947). Cf. also the same writer's *Profetie Metterdaad* (1947), pp. 61 ff., where a number of passages from Ezekiel are discussed ; also *Schweizerische Kirchenzeitung*, cxiv (1946), pp. 210 ff., 220 ff., where his view was first outlined in an article which began with a review of major works on Ezekiel from Herrmann to Bertholet. To the author's kindness I am indebted for access to this article. In a private letter he states that he no longer believes that the hypothesis of a Jerusalemit-Babylonian Ezekiel will stand.

⁶ *Ézéchiel* (Témoins de Dieu) (1947), and *Ézéchiel* (La Sainte Bible de Jérusalem (1949). Auvray regards Ezekiel as a fine poet who normally wrote in diffuse prose, but holds that the additions of copyists have made this yet more

accepted these views. They differed in that Auvray transferred the call recorded in chapter i to follow chapter xxxiii, which he held to close the account of the Palestinian ministry, whereas van den Born placed it after chapter xxxii, and made the Babylonian ministry begin with chapter xxxiii.

Here, too, belongs the unpublished work of O. R. Fischer,¹ of which Pfeiffer gives some account.² Fischer holds that Ezekiel was taken to Babylonia with the exiles of 597 B.C., and received his call there, but returned to Jerusalem to exercise his ministry there until the fall of the city. He then declined the Babylonian permission to remain in the west, but returned to Babylonia to carry to the exiles a message of encouragement.

To the problem of Ezekiel W. H. Brownlee devoted two unpublished dissertations.³ In the first⁴ he claimed to find evidence of several successive hands, and held that the book had been edited and re-edited a number of times, the final editor being a priest. Too late to be employed in this thesis he claims to have discovered that this priestly editor worked with a secret code, which Brownlee proceeded to break in a second thesis.⁵ Leaving this claim aside, we may note that in the earlier thesis he declared

diffuse (cf. the 1947 work, pp. 138 ff.). In rejecting the view adopted by Auvray, E. Power says: "The view . . . that Ezechiel's residence in Babylonia before Jerusalem's fall is the invention of a redactor and that his threats of punishment . . . were addressed to the Israelites in Palestine, is based on a misunderstanding of the prophet's mission and character. . . . His mission was to convert the exiles on whom all hopes of a restoration were based and who had to be disabused of their errors and convinced of God's justice and holiness before they could become the objects of his mercy and the recipients of his favours" (*A Catholic Commentary on Holy Scriptures* (1953), p. 603a).

¹ *The Unity of the Book of Ezekiel* (1939). This work I have not seen.

² Cf. *Introduction to the Old Testament* (1941), p. 531.

³ By the kindness of Professor Brownlee these two theses were loaned to me through the Duke University Librarian. Brownlee has published a sample of his method in *J.B.L.*, lxix (1950), pp. 367 ff.

⁴ *Major Critical Problems in the Book of Ezekiel* (1946). This thesis was submitted to the Pittsburgh-Xenia Theological Seminary for the degree of Master of Theology.

⁵ *The Book of Ezekiel: the Original Prophet and the Editors* (1947). This thesis was submitted to Duke University, Durham, N.C., for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

that "every major critical theory with regard to the Book of Ezekiel has its elements of truth". With Hölscher and Irwin he held that Ezekiel was primarily a poet; with Torrey that the book was revised as a piece of anti-Samaritan propaganda; but against Torrey that Ezekiel was a historical character; in agreement with Herntrich that his ministry was exercised wholly in Palestine.

More recently another American dissertation has been devoted to our book. This time the study has been published, and it is notable because it returns more closely to the positions that prevailed at the beginning of the century than any of the views at which we have looked. While finding some secondary elements in the book, the author of this dissertation, C. G. Howie,¹ finds that by and large the book of Ezekiel is the work of a prophet who prophesied wholly in Babylonia in the years to which his work is attributed in the text which has come down to us. Quite independently, and without any knowledge of Howie's work, C. J. Mullo Weir reached a similar conclusion.²

Finally we may turn to note some further views, which, after the manner of Torrey, bring the prophet down to a post-exilic date. In a long series of articles, running back many years before Torrey published the book defending his thesis, but not before Torrey had indicated the nature of his view,³ Berry argued⁴

¹ *The Date and Composition of Ezekiel* (1950). Cf. also *B.A.S.O.R.*, no. 117, (February, 1950), pp. 13 ff. Irwin's scathing review of Howie appeared in *J.N.E.S.*, xi (1952), pp. 219 ff. Cf. also C. Kuhl's criticisms, *Th.Z.*, viii (1952), pp. 405 f.

² This view was presented in a paper read to the Society for Old Testament Study and subsequently published in *Vetus Testamentum*. In the discussion that followed the writer drew Professor Mullo Weir's attention to the recent publication of Howie's book, so that references to it were embodied in the published form of the paper. Cf. "Aspects of the Book of Ezekiel", *V.T.*, ii (1952), pp. 97 ff. Cf. also C. Kuhl, *Th.Z.*, viii (1952), pp. 407 ff., for criticisms of Mullo Weir's positions.

³ Cf. *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy*, xv (1909), p. 248, and *Ezra Studies* (1911), p. 288 n. Cf. also *Vom Alten Testament* (Marti Festschrift, B.Z.A.W., no. 41) (1925), pp. 284 f., where the prophecy against Tyre was discussed.

⁴ Cf. *J.B.L.*, xxxiv (1915), pp. 17 ff. (arguing that Ezek. xl-xlviii come from two late authors, xl. 1-xliii. 17 dating from 320 B.C. most likely, or possibly

that our book is a late post-exilic production.¹ Similarly Torrey's pupil, Millar Burrows,² in a published dissertation, placed the composition of Ezekiel probably in the late pre-Maccabaean period,³ between the date of the composition of the Aramaic part of Daniel and that of the Hebrew part, on Torrey's

from 165 B.C., and xliii. 18-xlviii. 35 dating from after 300 B.C.); xl (1921), pp. 70 ff. (arguing that xlv. 1-8a and xlvii. 13-xlviii. 35 are Maccabaean), xli (1922), pp. 224 ff. (arguing that xxxviii. 1-xxxix. 20 come from the Maccabaean age and that Gog is Antiochus Eupator), xlix (1930), pp. 83 ff. (arguing that much besides xl-xlviii is late, but retracting his earlier view and declaring that no part of the book can be so late as the Maccabaean period, and maintaining that the ministry of Ezekiel fell between 579 and 586 B.C. and was exercised in Jerusalem.) In *A.J.S.L.*, xliii (1926-27), pp. 231 ff., J. E. Dean criticizes one of Berry's criteria, on the basis of the LXX and Vulgate. M. Vernes, *Précis d'Histoire juive* (1889), p. 811, attributed the composition of Ezekiel to the third century B.C., while L. Seinecke, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii (1884), pp. 1 ff., regarded the whole book as a pseudepigraph coming from Maccabaean times. E. Havet came down yet later and held that chapters xl-xlviii were a plan for the rebuilding of the Temple by Herod, while Gog's hosts were the Parthians. Cf. *Revue des deux Mondes*, xciv (1889), p. 824. Kuenen, in criticizing the views of Seinecke, said: "Über wirkliche Pseudepigrapha wird uns ein überraschendes Licht aufgehen, wenn erst die Zeit ihres Entstehens entdeckt sein wird; das Buch *Ezechiel* dagegen zeigt sich uns als ein zweckloses und dunkles Produkt, wenn wir es aus Babylonien und der exilischen Zeit nach Judäa und in ein späteres Jahrhundert verlegen" (*Historisch-kritische Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testaments*, German trans. by C. Th. Müller, ii (1892), p. 305).

¹ More recently Berry has modified his views still further. Cf. *J.B.L.*, lviii (1939), pp. 163 ff., where he argues that Torrey's view is too extreme, though he agrees with him that much in the book of Ezekiel is late. He still places the genuine Ezekiel in Jerusalem between 597 and 586 B.C., and holds that he was transferred to Babylonia by revisers in the third century B.C., who wrote all, or nearly all, of chapters xl-xlviii.

² *The Literary Relations of Ezekiel* (1925). S. Spiegel, *H.T.R.*, xxiv (1931), pp. 310 ff., praises this book for its restraint in making definite claims. For a criticism of Burrows cf. C. Kuhl, *Th.L.Z.*, liii (1928), cols. 121 f. For a very different literary study cf. H. Haag, *Was lehrt die literarische Untersuchung des Ezechiel-Textes?* (1943) (reviewed at length by A. Robert, *R.B.*, liii (1946), pp. 135 ff.).

³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 105: "Thus my study of the literary relations of Ez has brought me—somewhat, I confess, to my surprise—to the conclusion that the view of Ez as a product of the late pre-Maccabaean period is not only possible but very probable." The element of caution in this conclusion is to be noted. Burrows concludes: "If I am not yet entirely convinced that this is the correct view of the origin of Ez, it is only because a final decision must take account of considerations which I have, on principle, kept out of sight during this investigation."

dating of these compositions.¹ This result therefore was in very close agreement with the view which Torrey holds.²

In a series of articles published during and immediately after the first World War, W. Erbt argued³ that the book of Ezekiel was written in the early post-exilic period, between 535 and 523 B.C. Coming down later than Erbt, but not so late as Torrey and his American disciples, Nils Messel⁴ places the ministry of the prophet at about 400 B.C. Messel's work was prepared apparently without knowledge of Torrey's work, and he does not make the book a pseudepigraph. He argues that the exiles are the returned exiles, whose purer worship is contrasted with that of those whose fathers had not left Palestine. The book is held to have been much glossed, and an analysis of the whole, in which the glosses are distinguished, is offered.⁵

¹ Torrey dates Dan. i-vi c. 246 B.C., and vii-xii in the Maccabaean period, and believes the author of the second half wrote the beginning of his own work in Aramaic and translated the beginning of the earlier work into Hebrew to dovetail the two parts together. Cf. *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy*, xv (1909), pp. 241 ff.

² Cf. also G. Dahl, in *Quantulacumque* (Kirsopp Lake Festschrift) (1937), pp. 265 ff., where a similar view is propounded. Dahl, like Torrey, maintains the substantial unity of the book, but dismisses the dates as unoriginal, and holds that the work is a late pseudepigraph, composed after 240 B.C., purporting to be the work of a prophet who lived in Jerusalem in Manasseh's reign.

³ Cf. *O.L.Z.*, xx (1917), cols. 33 ff., 161 ff., 193 ff., 270 ff., 298 ff.; *xxi* (1918), cols. 6 ff., 33 ff.; *xxii* (1919), cols. 193 ff., 241 ff. With this view may be compared that of L. Zunz, who assigned the book to the early Persian period (cf. *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden* (1832), pp. 157 ff.), and who was followed by A. Geiger (cf. *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel* (1857), p. 23). Zunz later revised his view and transferred Ezekiel to the period 440-400 B.C. (cf. *Z.D.M.G.*, xxvii (1873), pp. 676 ff.). He was answered by H. Graetz, *M.G.W.J.*, xxiii (1874), pp. 433 ff., 515 ff. S. Davidson, *An Introduction to the Old Testament*, iii (1863), p. 150, says: "The criticism of Zunz in relation to Ezekiel is superficial and reckless, unworthy of so acute a scholar." H. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, III. Reihe, i (1902), pp. 135 ff., also placed the book in the early post-exilic period, with the exception of the Gog passages (on which see below), while O. Procksch, *Z.A.W.*, N.F. xvii (1940-1), pp. 99 ff., would place in the period 537-520 B.C. the priestly additions to the book.

⁴ *Ezechielfragen* (1945). Cf. also Messel's commentary on Ezekiel in Mowinckel and Messel, *De senere Profeter* (1944), pp. 464 ff.

⁵ For reviews of Messel's book, cf. A. van den Born, *Bi.Or.*, iv. (1947), pp. 10 ff.; J. J. Stamm, *Th.Z.*, iii (1947), pp. 304 ff.; A. S. Kapelrud, *S.E.Å.*, xiii (1948), pp. 88 ff.; D. M. G. Stalker, *J.T.S.*, xlix (1948), pp. 83 ff.

Lastly, L. E. Browne has quite recently propounded¹ a view different from all those so far surveyed, though it owes much to several of them. He holds that Ezekiel lived in the time of Alexander and himself deliberately gave a false air to his book to deceive the authorities. He thinks that Ezekiel was amongst a group of people who were deported from Jerusalem to Hyrcania in the year 344-343 B.C., and that it was from this exile rather than from the exile of Jehoiachin that his dates, with the exception of three,² were reckoned. These three are held to have been reckoned from the accession of Artaxerxes III, who was long dead by this time. Browne considerably rearranges the book, and holds that chapters xl-xlviii were originally designed to be the plan of a Temple for north and south, to be located in the centre of the land. He finds no reason to question the substantial unity of the book.

From this incomplete survey it is clear that the flood-gates of criticism have been opened on the book of Ezekiel in our time, and scholars are making up for the critical gentleness shown to it by earlier generations of scholars. The debate is still far from ended,³ and is likely to continue for a long time. Scarcely any two of the writers whose work we have noted agree in their conclusions, and the measure of disagreement is often very considerable. They differ as to the amount of the book which is to be denied to Ezekiel, but there is a general recognition that there are more secondary elements than older scholars were disposed to find. While the majority of the recent writers leave the prophet in the sixth century B.C., those who loose him from that age disagree to no small extent in the period in which they locate him—or his creator in the case of the pseudepigraphical view. On the question of the scene of the prophet's ministry the division of opinion is more even. The view of an exclusively

¹ In a paper read to the Society for Old Testament Study on 31 December 1952, and published at the same time under the title *Ezekiel and Alexander*.

² Ezek. i. 1, xxix. 17, xl. 1.

³ Cf. J. Meinhold, *Einführung in das Alte Testament*, 3rd edn. (1932), p. 272 : "Es ist hier also alles noch stark im Fluss"; cf. also *Bibel-Lexikon*, ed. by H. Haag, III. Lieferung (1952), col. 467 : "Man kann daher ruhig sagen, dass die kritische Untersuchung Ez's noch kaum angefangen hat."

Palestinian ministry and the traditional view of an exclusively Babylonian ministry are matched by the view of a double ministry, and this last view seems to be gaining in support. To examine all of these views is clearly impossible here, and I must confine myself to some general observations and to the indication of where I stand amongst this maze of opinions. It is with diffidence that I offer an opinion on so highly debatable a question ; yet if I failed to do so it might appear that discretion was the better part of valour.

We cannot approach the book with the simple *assumption* that it is a unity.¹ Few scholars can be found to maintain that the whole of the book of Isaiah is to be attributed to the eighth century prophet of that name. Secondary elements are found in the book of Jeremiah, though with the exception of Duhm² few have dealt so radically with that book as some would now deal with Ezekiel. In the collection of the Minor Prophets—which should not be thought of as twelve separate books but as a single collection of oracles of a number of prophets, each section of which has its own heading—it is common to find a number of intrusive oracles or sections which do not represent the work of the prophets under whose names they are given. It should perhaps be added that there is far greater caution in rejecting passages as inauthentic than there was formerly, but any idea that the literary criticism of these books is in danger of being abandoned would be quite misleading. There is therefore no *a priori* objection to the finding of secondary passages in the book of Ezekiel. Indeed, if we start with any presumption it should be in favour of the finding of such elements.

There is a general similarity about the structure of the three books Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel that is worth noting. The first part of Isaiah is similar to Jeremiah in that the oracles do not seem to be chronologically arranged, and the collection ends

¹ Cf. G. A. Cooke, *The Book of Ezekiel*, p. v : " It is no longer possible to treat the Book as the product of a single mind and a single age."

² Cf. *Das Buch Jeremia* (Marti's Kurzer Hand-Commentar) (1901), where Duhm argued that apart from the letter to the exiles in Jer. xxix the only genuine words of the prophet which have come down to us are in poetry. About 270 verses in poetry are then left to Jeremiah.

with an extract from the book of Kings, while the oracles on foreign nations are collected together in one section. In the book of Ezekiel the foreign oracles are again collected together,¹ but here there is no extract from the book of Kings, because no comparably relevant extract could be found there. In Ezekiel, however, the oracles appear to be given a more chronological arrangement, and this is a feature Ezekiel does not share with the other two books. To First Isaiah there has been appended another collection of oracles without any indication of their age and authorship save such as can be gleaned from their contents.² The book of Ezekiel ends with nine chapters of description of the future Temple and its service in the restored Israel,³ that is once more quite unlike the earlier part of this book. All this would suggest that the plan of compilation of these books is substantially one, with such modifications as the varying material used by the compiler imposed upon him. His materials were much older, and in large part come from the prophets under whose name he presents them. But since, if these three collections were made by one compiler or by a single circle of compilers, we should unquestionably be brought down to the post-exilic age for their compilation, there would be nothing surprising in some non-Ezekielian elements finding their place in this book.

For the collection of the Minor Prophets we are also brought down to the post-exilic age, since the writings of post-exilic prophets are here included. The method of compilation was here modified because of the very different nature of the material. It is, however, probable that all these four prophetic collections, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and The Twelve, were made in the same age, probably in the fifth or fourth century B.C. It must be emphasized that this does not mean that the contents of the books are not in general genuine utterances of the prophets whose names they bear. The date of the compilation of a book must be

¹ Ezek. xxv-xxxii.

² This collection is commonly divided into Deutero-Isaiah, chapters xl-lv, and Trito-Isaiah, chapters lvi-lxvi, but Trito-Isaiah is most often attributed to a disciple or disciples of Deutero-Isaiah.

³ Ezek. xl-xlviii.

clearly distinguished from the date of the materials it contains, and, with the exception of the latter part of the book of Isaiah and the latter part of Zechariah, most may be recognized to be the authentic oracles of the prophets to whom they are ascribed.

While, then, there is no initial reason against the inclusion of secondary elements, it must be said that it is hard to accept the view that they are to be found in Ezekiel in large quantities. The impression of a single personality which the book makes is unquestionably strong.¹ The Old Testament panel engaged in preparing the new translation of the Bible has recently been working on the book of Ezekiel, and again and again members of the panel have commented on the evidences of a single mind which the work reveals.² That the editor who compiled the work contributed something to it is indeed probable, but to judge from the other prophetic books there is reason to suppose that he composed very little. He incorporated from more than one source, but he does not seem frequently to have added his own comments. There is nothing in any of the other books comparable with the sustained glossing and misinterpreting which Irwin finds in Ezekiel. Nor is there anything comparable with the editorial transfer of a prophet from one age to another or from one country to another which some have found here. It is true that to the work of Isaiah and Zechariah concluding chapters have been added which are generally held to be the work of other hands. Yet even here we do not have any real parallel to the view that the last nine chapters of Ezekiel are not authentic. In the case of the latter half of Isaiah and Zechariah, the background revealed in the chapters is different from the background of Isaiah's and Zechariah's times; but in the case of the chapters of Ezekiel

¹ Cf. C. C. Torrey, *J.B.L.*, lviii (1939), p. 77: "If any close attention is paid to peculiarities of style, language, religious conceptions, and the stage in the development of Jewish literature which is indicated, there is gained an overwhelming impression of an individuality which is the same throughout the book." Cf. also C. Kuhl, *Die literarische Einheit des Buches Ezechiel* (1917). I have to thank the author's courtesy for the loan of this.

² Cf. G. Dahl, in *Quantulacumque*, p. 267: "Too little weight has been given by recent research to the important fact that, up to at least the turn of the century, the practically unanimous verdict of the most competent scholars was that the book is clearly the product of a single mind."

we do not find this, and there is no consensus of opinion, comparable to that in the case of these other books and resting upon compelling grounds, which requires us to locate them in another age than Ezekiel's.¹

That the compiler drew his material from more than one source is very probable. It will be remembered that Jeremiah himself prepared a collection of his own oracles in the reign of Jehoiakim,² and it is likely that this was one of the sources drawn on by the compiler of the book of Jeremiah. Yet it was not the only source. There is some autobiographical material embodying oracles, and some biographical material embodying oracles, relating in the third person the setting of the prophecies. Besides these, we find oracles without any indication of their setting at all.³ The incident in the Temple recorded in chapter vii seems to be the same as that recorded in chapter xxvi, and it is probable that the compiler drew from two separate sources. Similarly the chapters of the book of Hosea relating to the prophet's marriage appear to be drawn from two sources,⁴ one standing in the first person and one in the third. A perennial subject of discussion amongst scholars is as to whether these chapters provide parallel accounts, or whether one relates the sequel to the other. In all these cases there is no reason to doubt that the various sources employed relate to the prophets concerned. Some may have been written down in the time of the prophet, and some may have been preserved orally and then written down after his time. But all are genuine oracles and experiences of the prophets in question. There is therefore no reason whatever why there may not have been in existence by the time the book of Ezekiel was compiled more than one source dealing with the work of Ezekiel, from which the compiler made

¹ G. Dah^l, loc. cit., pp. 268 f., underlines the contrast between the evidence for the composite character of the Pentateuch and the evidence provided for the book of Ezekiel.

² Jer. xxxvi. 32.

³ Cf. S. Münkel, *Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia* (1914), pp. 17 ff., and *Prophecy and Tradition* (1946), pp. 21 ff., 61 ff.; Oesterley and Robinson, *Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament* (1934), pp. 224 ff.; O. E. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1934), pp. 161 ff.; A. Bentzen, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 2nd edn., i (1952), pp. 256 ff.

⁴ Hos. i and iii.

extracts.¹ Views along these lines were proposed at the turn of the century by Kraetzscher,² and in a revised form by Herrmann³ in his commentary on Ezekiel, published in 1924. But the book of Ezekiel is in general so much of a single stamp that

¹ G. Widengren, *Literary and Psychological Aspects of the Hebrew Prophets* (1948), pp. 74 ff., notes some evidence contained in the book of Ezekiel which points to the fact that the prophet himself wrote down some of his prophecies. Widengren's book was in part designed to modify the emphasis on oral tradition which had been developed by Scandinavian scholars, and especially by I. Engnell, who built on the work of H. S. Nyberg (*Studien zum Hoseabuche*, 1935) and H. Birkeland (*Zum hebräischen Traditionswesen*, 1938). Cf. Engnell's *Gamla Testamentet*, i (1945), *The Call of Isaiah* (1949), and articles in *Svenskt Biblistisk Uppslagsverk* (1948-52), especially that on "Traditionshistorisk metod", in vol. ii (1952), cols. 1429 ff. S. Mowinckel, *Prophecy and Tradition* (1946), had earlier sought to modify this emphasis. Cf. O. Eissfeldt, *Th.L.Z.*, lxxiii (1948), cols. 529 ff. In *The Call of Isaiah*, pp. 55 ff., Engnell offers some reply to Widengren's criticisms.

² *Das Buch Ezechiel* (Nowack's Handkommentar) (1900). Kraetzscher thought that the present book was based on two sources, one written in the first person and one in the third. K. Budde, while rejecting some features of Kraetzscher's view, agreed with it in substance. Cf. *Geschichte der althebräischen Litteratur*, 2nd edn. (1909), p. 156. C. Cornill, *Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament*, English trans. by G. H. Box (1907), pp. 316 ff., observed that Kraetzscher's two-source theory did not seem to have a sufficiently wide basis of fact, though he recognized the presence of superfluous doublets. Similarly Sellin, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, English trans. by W. Montgomery (1923), p. 155, objects that in point of fact the third person is only once used of Ezekiel. Kraetzscher's view can scarcely stand, therefore, in the precise form in which he presented it. Cf. L. Dennefeld, *La Sainte Bible*, vii, p. 464.

³ *Ezechiel* (Sellin's Kommentar) (1924). Cf. also the same writer's *Ezechielstudien* (Kittel's B.W.A.T.) (1908). Herrmann thought the prophet himself compiled the book on the basis of various notes which he had from time to time gathered together. By this means he explained the duplicates to be found in the book, rather than by Kraetzscher's two recension theory. At the same time Herrmann recognized the activity of later hands in expanding the text. Cf. also H. Schmidt, *Die grossen Propheten* (S.A.T. II, ii), 2nd edn. (1923), pp. 472 ff., and J. Hempel, *Die althebräische Literatur* (1930), pp. 167 ff. Hempel believes that Ezekiel's oracles were transmitted orally and several collections were made before the book of Ezekiel was compiled from them. Of the value and importance of Herrmann's book there can be no doubt, and Cooke was much influenced by it. J. E. McFadyen, *E.T.*, xxxv (1923-4), p. 457 ff., hails it as the work of a master, which represents the fruits of a profound and exhaustive study. It seems very doubtful if Ezekiel should himself be given so much place as compiler as Herrmann gives him, but the doublets may in part be explained by the variety of sources used by a post-exilic compiler. Many of the repetitions that abound in the book

it does not seem probable that much material from quite alien sources,¹ that do not go back at all to the work of the prophet, have been incorporated.²

Chapter xxvii, the chapter which deals with the ship 'Tyre,³ has frequently been analysed into separate components in poetry and prose, ascribed to different authors.⁴ Sometimes the whole has been assigned to a date later than the exilic age in which Ezekiel is represented as living. Julian Morgenstern believes that it refers to the events of 480 B.C.⁵ while L. E. Browne holds that it deals with Alexander's conquest of Tyre in the fourth century B.C.⁶ In a brilliant unpublished paper read recently to the Society for Old Testament Study, on the same day as L. E.

may, however, be due to copyists. Cf. M.-L. Dumeste, *R.B.*, xlvi (1937), p. 431 : "On ne saurait nier, en effet, la présence dans le texte d'éléments adventices que la critique peut délimiter avec plus ou moins de certitude. Ils se présentent tantôt sous forme de gloses, suspectes soit par leur caractère de doublets, d'amplifications explicatives, presque toujours signalées comme telles par la différence des deux recensions hébraïque et grecque."

¹ E. Bruston, *La Bible du Centenaire*, ii (1947), p. xxviiib, lists the following passages whose authenticity seems to him improbable : iii. 16b-21 ; v. 3 f. ; vii. 19 ; x. 1, 4 f., 8-17, 20-2 ; xi. 11 f. ; xvi. 45 b ; perhaps xxvi. 19-21 ; xxx. 3 ; perhaps xlvi. 26 f. G. Fohrer, *Die Hauptprobleme des Buches Ezechiel* (1952), pp. 99 f., gives a much longer list of rejected passages.

² Cf. A. Bentzen, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 2nd edn., ii (1952), p. 126 : "The solution of the problems is to be sought along the same lines as in the case of Jeremiah. We have a complex of poetical words by the prophet-master Ezekiel, transmitted orally and at length fixed in writing. But alongside this we have . . . complexes of prose sermons, probably also based on words of the prophet, but transformed under the influence of disciples, and perhaps already in oral, but perhaps also in written form, joined to the collection of poems."

³ Cf. W. H. Schoff, *The Ship "Tyre"* (1920), p. 47. He would equate Tyre with Babylon, but J. M. Powis Smith observes that this founders on the statement that its destruction is to come at the hands of Nebuchadrezzar (cf. *J.R.*, i (1921), pp. 322 f.). Cf. L. Finkelstein, *The Pharisees*, i (1938), pp. 335 ff., where also it is argued that Tyre stands for Babylon, and the prophet by this subtle device pours forth his anger against Babylonia, while appearing to pour it on her rebellious subjects.

⁴ Cf. A. Bertholet, *Hesekiel* (1936), pp. 94 ff. On the reasons which led Ezekiel to devote so much space to Tyre, cf. W. E. Barnes, *J.T.S.*, xxv (1934), pp. 50 ff. Cf. also C. Mackay, *C.Q.R.*, cxvii (1933-4), pp. 239 ff.

⁵ Cf. *H.U.C.A.*, xvi (1941), pp. 10 ff.

⁶ Cf. *Ezekiel and Alexander*, pp. 4 f. L. Zunz, *Z.D.M.G.*, xxvii (1873), p. 678, earlier assigned the author of the Tyre oracles to the period of Alexander. Cf. also C. C. Torrey, in *Vom Alten Testament* (Marti *Festschrift*) (1925),

Browne's paper, Sidney Smith has examined this chapter in minute detail, and has shown that it can with perfect appropriateness be interpreted of Nebuchadrezzar's seige of Tyre in the sixth century, and that the whole chapter is a unity dealing with that event, the parts of which are necessary to the understanding of the whole.

Again we must beware of making into a canon the assumption that Ezekiel could only write poetry. It may be agreed that to Hölscher we owe the appreciation of Ezekiel as no mean poet.¹ S. R. Driver had labelled him "the most uniformly prosaic of the earlier prophets",² while J. A. Bewer had declared that "he was prosaic even when he wrote poetry".³ But Rudolf Kittel, though he rejected the views of Hölscher in general,⁴ was so convinced that Hölscher had rescued Ezekiel as a poet that he accepted two of Hölscher's reconstructed oracles and declared that they were the work of a true poet and amongst

pp. 284 f. Further, O. Eissfeldt, *Palästinajahrbuch*, xxvii, 1931, p. 65 n., cites a letter written by Nöldeke a month before his death to Littmann in 1930: "Dass Alexander d. Gr. unter dem Namen Nebukadnezar's, der Tyrus belagert, im Ezechiel vorkommt, weiss ich längst." (Nöldeke's letter was published by E. Littmann, in *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Geschäftliche Mitteilungen aus dem Berichtsjahr 1930-1* (1931), p. 57, as an appendix to an obituary address.) H. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, II. Reihe (1901), pp. 160 ff., held that Gog in Ezek. xxxv.ii f. represents Alexander the Great. Others have brought the Gog chapters down even later. Seinecke, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii (1884), pp. 13 f., in accordance with his general view of the date of the book, identifies Gog with Antiochus Epiphanes, while G. R. Berry, *J.B.L.*, xli (1922), pp. 224 ff., identifies him with Antiochus Eupator and N. Schmidt, *E.B.*, iv (1907), cols. 4332 f., with Mithridates VI, c. 88 B.C. For other views on the identification of Gog, cf. the writer's *Relevance of Apocalyptic*, 2nd edn. (1947), pp. 33 f., Pfeiffer, *Introduction*, pp. 562 f., and G. Fohrer, *Die Hauptprobleme*, p. 196.

¹ Long before Hölscher the poetic qualities of Ezekiel had been recognized by Lowth, who assigned him the rank of Aeschylus, and who declared that the greater part of Ezekiel is poetical. Cf. *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, English trans. by G. Gregory, 3rd edn. (1835), p. 232. A. Lods, *Histoire de la littérature hébraïque et juive*, p. 441, says that Victor Hugo classed Ezekiel with Homer, Aeschylus, and Juvenal (cf. Lowth, loc. cit. p. 233).

² Cf. *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 9th edn., p. 296, where it is also said: "He has imagination, but not poetical talent."

³ Cf. *The Literature of the Old Testament in its Historical Development* (1922), p. 183.

⁴ Cf. *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* iii (1927), pp. 144 ff.

the finest poetry contained in the Old Testament.¹ He could not, however, accept the view that Ezekiel could only write poetry, or that his poetry must all have been of the same high quality.²

In the reconstruction of the sixteen poems which Hölscher allows to the prophet, prose verses are eliminated as secondary interpolations. We must beware of assuming too readily that such prose interpolations must come from other hands. G. Widengren³ has shown that the Qur'an contains prose insertions in poetic pieces, where both poetry and prose may be recognized as the genuine work of Muhammad, and we must beware of supposing that a Hebrew prophet cannot have supplied interpretations of his own oracles. If the interpretation demonstrably misunderstands the oracle, there is every reason to ascribe it to another author, since it may be presumed that the prophet himself understood the message his oracle was designed to express. The arguments of Irwin must therefore be studied with care, and cannot be dismissed without examination on the ground of any analogy from the Qur'an, or of any recognition that the prophet was capable of supplying an interpretation of his own oracles. We must, however, be very sure that the misunderstanding is not ours.

In the passage from which Irwin starts,⁴ Ezek. xv, we find an oracle in verses 1-5 and its interpretation in verses 6-8.

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 159, referring to Ezek. xix. 2-6, 8 f., and xxvii. 2-9a, 25. A similar view of these two poems is taken by R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (1941), pp. 564 f. Cf. also G. A. Cooke, *J.T.S.*, xxvii (1925-6), p. 202: "His theory does account for the contrast between the fine passages and the dull ones, the poems which flash like jewels and the monotonous prose of their setting."

² Cf. Pfeiffer, loc. cit. After praising Ezekiel's poetic gifts, Pfeiffer says: "the prose style of Ezekiel at its best is lucid and adequate, although it does not possess unusual distinction; at its worst it is pedantic, monotonous and repetitious."

³ Cf. *Literary and Psychological Aspects of the Hebrew Prophets* (1948), pp. 35 ff., esp. p. 51: "The prophet himself makes interpolations in his earlier revelations in order to explain or modify his sayings from a preceding period of his prophetic activity. These additions may be of a tedious prosaic character, in quite another style than the expressive poetic language used by him in the revelations encompassing these late proclamations." G. Fohrer, *Die Hauptprobleme*, p. 41, rejects Widengren's conclusions based on this. ⁴ Op. cit., pp. 33 ff.

The oracle declares the uselessness of vine wood as timber, save for fuel, and *a fortiori* its uselessness for anything after it is charred. Irwin declares that the plain meaning of this is that Judah was anyhow unimportant, how much more when she has been burned.¹ The interpretation, he remarks, concentrates not on the nature of the wood, but on the fire which is to consume it, and on the dire threat that though a piece of the wood, identified with the people of Jerusalem, may at first escape the fire, it will yet be seized by the fire and utterly consumed.² I am bound to say I am unable to see how this is a patent misinterpretation, or how it supplies the key to unlock the book of Ezekiel which Irwin finds here.³ The primary thought of the first half is not of the uselessness of the vine wood in itself, but of the utter uselessness of vine wood that has been charred. It would therefore be relevant for the prophet to say to his hearers: "You are such vine wood,⁴ useless for anything but fuel; and you too are to be consumed in the fire, and consumed completely."⁵ From this example it will be seen that I am not

¹ Op. cit., p. 34.

² Ibid.

³ In *V.T.*, iii (1953), pp. 63 ff., Irwin returns to this passage and reaffirms his view against the many scholars who were unconvinced by his argument. To the list of those unconvinced may now be added G. Fohrer (*Die Hauptprobleme*, pp. 7 f., 68).

⁴ Irwin, op. cit., pp. 18 f., reproaches Kessler for saying that the thought that the people of Jerusalem are of no worth is implicit in the interpretation, and declares that this is precisely what the verses do not say. But verse 6 reads, "As the vine tree among the trees of the forest, which I have given to the fire for fuel, so will I give the inhabitants of Jerusalem". Surely this means "As the vine tree, worthless in itself as declared in the oracle, which is given to the fire and reduced to greater worthlessness, so worthless Jerusalem is to be given to the fire". There is a far closer connection between the oracle and interpretation here than we find in Isa. v. 1-7, where no one would dream of denying the unity of authorship of the whole. In the single verse of interpretation there, there is no reference to many of the elements of the parable that preceded it. Yet they are all to be supplied. As M. J. Gruenthaler rightly says in discussing Irwin's treatment of this chapter: "An author need not explain all the features of his parable. He may pass over some of these in silence if their meaning is clear to his audience or may be readily apprehended by them." Cf. *C.B.Q.*, vii (1945), p. 445. For Kessler's defence of the unity of this chapter cf. op. cit., pp. 35 ff.

⁵ Cf. Howie, op. cit., pp. 89 f., where it is similarly maintained that there is no patent misinterpretation. In the course of a scathing review of Howie's book

convinced that the secondary elements are so numerous as Irwin maintains¹—and I may add not even so numerous as Herנtrich holds.

As to the place where Ezekiel exercised his ministry, before we transfer it to Palestine we need to be sure that the reasons are cogent. That many of his oracles are addressed to the people of Jerusalem is no evidence that they were delivered in Jerusalem. There is no reason to suppose that Amos travelled to the surrounding peoples to deliver the oracles against them which are

(*J.N.E.S.*, xi (1952), pp. 219-23), Irwin bitingly says: "Howie can't see the differences that I pointed out between verses 1-5 and 6-8. That's regrettable; but no one can do anything about it except Howie himself" (p. 221b). It may be observed that a great many commentators have failed to see any evidence of misinterpretation, but have assigned the interpretation without question to the prophet himself. This is true not merely of commentators who were predisposed to accept the traditional interpretation. Herrmann recognized many secondary elements, but not here (*Ezechiel* (1924), pp. 90 f.), and so Cooke (*The Book of Ezekiel*, pp. 156 ff.). Similarly Matthews (*Ezekiel*, p. 53), with the exception of verse 8. It is possible that all of these writers and the present writer may, like Howie, be defective in understanding. But in that case where is the evidence that Ezekiel was not similarly defective, so that he too failed to notice any fundamental inconsistency?

¹ Irwin complains (*J.N.E.S.*, loc cit., p. 221), with some justice, that Howie sometimes misrepresents his views by using sentences out of their context and attributing to him views which he was citing from others. It is much to be regretted that the discussion of the issues on this so much debated subject is thus complicated. Complete fairness to the adversary is the first law of successful controversy. In *V.T.*, iii (1953), p. 64 n., Irwin complains that I was unfair to him in saying "isolated verses or sections are rejected with a confidence that the reader may not share" (*Book List* of the Society for Old Testament Study (1946), p. 26). Yet in the text above this complaint Irwin shows the utmost confidence in his rejection of xv. 6-8 (cf. p. 65: "I am thus obliged to insist that chapter xv is composed of a genuine oracle followed by spurious, false commentary") while he frankly recognizes that several scholars have failed to share it. In *The Problem of Ezekiel*, p. 283, he said: "The results attained are all open to question of greater or less seriousness", but proceeds "for the sake of tabulation" to "ignore such doubts", and on p. x he claims that in general he has established such high probability as to be accepted as *proof*. This certainly appeared to me to be the language of confidence. Now, in *V.T.*, loc cit., p. 65, Irwin says "That my analysis of the rest of the book was replete with uncertainty I was the first to assert. I merely did the best I could with evidence so inadequate that no result can ever be fully secure." This recognition that his only strong case is chapter xv, where he complains that the strength has not been recognized, and where I am unable to see the strength, is clear evidence that no confidence in the method is justified, and that it was an exaggeration to speak of *proof*.

included in the book of Amos,¹ or that all the foreign oracles included in the other prophetic books were delivered to other ears than those of Israelites. There is thus no compelling reason why Ezekiel could not have spoken before the exiles his prophecies that were in form addressed to the people of Jerusalem.² There is evidence of intercourse between the exiles and their homeland, as we know from the book of Jeremiah,³ and word of some of the prophet's oracles might well have reached Jerusalem. But even if not, that is no reason why they could not have been delivered to the exiles, though rhetorically addressed to the people in Judah and Jerusalem.⁴

Moreover, it is hard to see why an editor should have gone out of his way to transfer Ezekiel's ministry to Babylonia if it were actually exercised in part or in whole in Palestine.⁵ Fischer⁶

¹ Amos i-ii.

² Cf. E. Sellin, *Geschichte des israelitische-jüdischen Volkes*, ii (1932), p. 35; G. A. Cooke, *The Book of Ezekiel*, p. xxiv. ³ Cf. Jer. xxix.

⁴ Torrey, *J.B.L.*, lviii (1939), pp. 81 f., raises against the theory of a Palestinian ministry of Ezekiel in the sixth century the fact that he must then be assumed to have lived in Jerusalem and Judaea for eight years without having heard of Jeremiah. That Jeremiah and Ezekiel do not mention one another is not surprising. Isaiah and Micah do not mention one another. Hence Auvray maintains that nothing can be made here of the *argumentum e silentio* (*R.B.*, lv (1948), p. 519 n.). But, as Torrey points out, it is not quite a case of silence. For *Ezek. ii. 5* suggests that there is no other prophet in the same community giving the same warnings. Further, in xxii. 30 God is represented as saying to Ezekiel that he had sought for a man to stand in the breach, but found none. This would be surprising if Jeremiah lived in the same community at the same time. Similarly, *Jer. xxvii* would not suggest that Ezekiel was known to him in the same community. If, however, Ezekiel and Jeremiah were far apart, the one working in Jerusalem and the other in Babylonia it would be less surprising that they made no reference to one another, even though they knew of one another's work. Ezekiel's work in Babylonia had no effect in Jerusalem, and there was no reason why Jeremiah should mention it. On the other hand, Jeremiah had so little effective influence in Jerusalem—and himself complains that he was a laughing stock (*Jer. xx. 7*)—that when Ezekiel spoke of the leaders in Jerusalem he could be forgiven for not mentioning him.

⁵ Cf. H. M. Orlinsky, *B.A.S.O.R.*, no. 122 (April 1951), p. 35: "What could Ezekiel (or a redactor) have hoped to gain by shifting the locale of the initial call from Judah (if so it was) to Babylonia?" Howie offers a number of pointers to a Babylonian background, of varying weight, and to these may be added G. R. Driver's argument, *V.T.*, i (1951), pp. 60 ff., that the imagery of the prophet's inaugural vision may have been suggested by the work of a Babylonian brass-founder.

⁶ Cf. Pleifffer, *Introduction*, p. 531.

thinks the prophet was with the captives of 597, but that he returned to Jerusalem when he received his call. Others have argued that when Ezekiel was bidden to prophesy to the people of Israel,¹ unless he was a second Jonah he must have gone to them.² But this immediately raises the question how one of the exiles could return to his native land at will.³ Surely the deportees were not free to return whenever they wished. The suggestion has been made,⁴ and rejected by Mullo Weir,⁵ that Ezekiel was a fifth columnist in the service of Babylon, and therefore permitted to return. But if Ezekiel had been in Jerusalem at the same time as Jeremiah, in the years just before the fall of Jerusalem, it would be hard to explain why he did not suffer persecution. Jeremiah was suspected of being a fifth columnist, and suffered grievously.⁶ If Ezekiel had been allowed to return home by the Babylonians there would be even more reason to suspect him; and in any case the nature of his message of impending destruction was as much calculated to arouse persecution as Jeremiah's. Yet there is no suggestion that Ezekiel suffered in any comparable way.⁷

Again, if the view of Hertrich and those who follow him is correct, it would be hard to explain how an exilic author could transfer the ministry of his master from Palestine to Babylonia at a time when many around him would know that Ezekiel had not prophesied amongst the exiles.⁸ No clear motive for this

¹ Cf. Ezek. iii. 11.

² Cf. Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 536. On this passage (Ezek. iii. 11), cf. C. Kuhl, *Th.Z.*, viii (1952), pp. 413 f., and Mullo Weir, *V.T.*, ii (1952), p. 101.

³ Cf. Mullo Weir, *V.T.*, ii (1952), p. 101.

⁴ Cf. Bentzen, *Introduction*, 2nd edn., ii, p. 128: "It cannot be called impossible that the Babylonians have allowed him to go back to the city—on the contrary, they may have used him and his preaching for their own purpose, as clever propagandists of today often do."

⁵ Loc. cit.

⁶ Cf. Jer. xxxvii. 13 ff., xxxviii.

⁷ C. Kuhl, *Th.Z.*, viii (1952), pp. 410 ff., replies to this by pointing to such passages as Ezek. iii. 9; ii. 5; iii. 7; ii. 3, 6; iii. 24 f., to prove that Ezekiel did have to suffer. But there is no reference here that is not compatible with private treatment by his fellow exiles, and capable of referring to such suffering as Jeremiah knew all through his ministry as the result of the rejection of himself and his message, and nothing whatever that points to official action taken against Ezekiel by the state authorities.

⁸ Cf. N. Messel, *Ezechielfragen*, p. 13.

quixotic transfer is provided in the book of Ezekiel, and no author would resort to such a fiction, when he knew that he would quickly be found out, unless he had some very strong motives. Nor can the use of the term "house of Israel" be pressed into the service of any of the theories of a Palestinian setting for Ezekiel's ministry. Smith found in this phrase evidence of a northern Israelite ministry, but Battersby Harford,¹ after a careful examination of the eighty-three occurrences of the phrase in the book of Ezekiel, was able to demonstrate that it is often used for the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem. That this does not demand for the prophet a ministry in Jerusalem has been shown by G. A. Danell,² who finds evidence that it also stands for the exiles.³

As to the theory of two calls, separated by some years, it will be remembered that Jeremiah had his call renewed after some years,⁴ when he was dispirited and downcast.⁵ But there is nothing whatever to suggest that either of the two alleged calls of Ezekiel was a renewed call.⁶ At the beginning of the vision recorded in chapter i we are given a precise date, in the fifth year of the captivity. No dated oracle earlier than this stands anywhere in the book, and there is no clear evidence to connect any oracle with earlier events. Many scholars find no reason to doubt the reliability of this dating. There is no reason to transfer this date to the vision of chapter ii, and then to place the vision of

¹ Cf. *Studies in the Book of Ezekiel*, pp. 93 ff.

² Cf. *Studies in the Name Israel in the Old Testament* (1946), pp. 237 ff. Cf. also Mullo Weir, *V.T.*, ii (1952), pp. 100 f.

³ Mullo Weir, loc. cit., cites Ezek. xi. 15 and xxxvii. 11 as clear examples. Many of the occurrences are ambiguous and cannot be pressed on either side in the discussion of this issue.

⁴ Jer. xv. 19 ff.

⁵ Cf. Jer. xv. 15 ff.

⁶ S. Spiegel, *J.B.L.*, lvi (1935), p. 170, cites rabbinic evidence for the tradition that the prophetic career of Ezekiel began in the Holy land, and this is repeated by P. Auvray, *R.B.*, lv (1948) p. 514. The Targum of Jonathan renders Ezek. i. 2 f.: "On the fifth of the month, in the fifth year of the captivity of King Jehoiachin, the prophetic word came from the Lord to Ezekiel the son of Buzi, the priest, in the land of Israel; again a second time He spoke to him in the province of the land of the Chaldees by the river Chebar." H. M. Orlinsky, *B.A.S.O.R.*, no. 122 (April 1951), p. 35 n., rightly points out that this has no evidential value. It is much easier to explain why the Targum should alter the tradition so as to make the prophet's call come to him in Palestine than to explain why the Biblical text should expunge a Palestinian call.

chapter i later than that of chapter ii.¹ Moreover, if this is done the vision of chapter i is left without point or purpose. By itself it merely records the prophet's vision of the living creatures, and of the throne and him that sat thereon, and, on Bertholet's view, finishes with the command to the prophet to stand upon his feet. There is no call or commission here. On the other hand, the call of chapter ii is made to start abruptly with the commission to the prophet, without any indication of the occasion or introduction of the Speaker who commissioned him.²

Bertholet transfers Ezek. i. 2 to precede ii. 3,³ and then changes the date of i. 1 to provide the date of the vision in chapter i. As the text stands i. 1 is dated in the thirtieth year, but there is no indication of the point from which the reckoning is made. In i. 2, however, the date is given as the fifth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin. Almost unlimited discussion has gathered round the former of these dates and very varied solutions have been proposed. It is the latest date given in the book if it reckons from the same point of time, but since it would appear to indicate

¹ Speaking of the variety of treatment accorded to chapters i-iii Irwin says "the situation as a whole is eloquent testimony to the chaos of current criticism of the Book of Ezekiel" (*The Problem of Ezekiel*, p. 224). He observes that "Matthews finds a vision of storm at sunset in i. 4-5, 22, 26-28; and Hertrich follows the jig-saw method, carving the three chapters into sections that appeal to him and then piecing them together in a new order. . . . All alike, however, accept the presence of a genuine original, though again the views differ widely, from Herrmann, Bertholet, and Cooke, who accept practically everything, to Hölscher and Hertrich, for whom Ezekiel's material is a mere framework greatly expanded by the 'throne chariot' material" (pp. 223 f.).

² C. Kuhl, *Th.Z.*, viii (1952), p. 402, notes, as many others have done, that Ezekiel exercised a dual ministry. He was a prophet of judgement and also a minister of consolation and hope. The one ministry he exercised especially before the fall of Jerusalem and the other especially after that fall. But this is hardly sufficient to establish the view that he received a separate call before taking up the second ministry. Kuhl observes that the role of Watcher is essentially different from that in chapter ii. That is no reason why it should not figure in the prophet's call, as it is said to do in chapter iii. The prophet only learns all that is involved in his call as he responds to it and exercises his ministry, when he realizes that it was all really there from the beginning. The work of Moses in the wilderness and at Sinai was totally different from his work in Egypt, but he did not require a second call before he could undertake it.

³ Cf. *Hesekiel* (1936), p. 3. G. R. Berry holds that Ezek. i. 1a, 4-28a once preceded xlivi. 4. Cf. *J.B.L.*, li (1932), pp. 54 ff.; lvi (1937), pp. 115 ff.

the time of the prophet's call,¹ most editors have held it to be quite outside the series of dates given elsewhere in the book.² It has been variously interpreted as the thirtieth year after Josiah's reform,³ or the thirtieth year of the prophet's age,⁴ or the thirtieth year after the foundation of the Neo-Babylonian empire.⁵ Bertholet,⁶ following some earlier scholars,⁷ arbitrarily

¹ J. Begrich, *Die Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda* (1929), p. 206, observes that the identity of the month in i. 1 and i. 2 is an indication that the same year is intended.

² Some writers have taken this to be within the series, and to reckon from the exile of Jehoiachin. It is then the latest date in the book. So A. Merx, *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, ix (1883), p. 73. Albright so takes it, and understands it to be the date when Ezekiel completed the preparation of the book. Cf. *J.B.L.*, li (1932), p. 96. So also S. Speigel, *H.T.R.*, xxiv (1931), p. 289 and *J.B.L.*, lvi (1937), p. 407; G. R. Berry, *J.B.L.*, li (1932), p. 55; B. D. Eerdmans, *The Religion of Israel* (1947), pp. 196 f.; O. Procksch, *Theologie des Alten Testaments* (1950), p. 309 n.; C. G. Howie, *Date and Composition of Ezekiel*, p. 41. L. E. Browne, *Ezekiel and Alexander*, p. 10, also takes this date to be that of the completion of the book, though he does not hold it to be within the general series and transfers it to a late post-exilic period.

³ So the Targum of Jonathan; Jerome (cf. Migne, *P.L.*, xxv (1884), col. 17); H. Graetz, *M.G.W.J.*, xxiii, 1874, p. 518 n.; J. Herrmann, *Ezechiel*, 1924, p. 10; and L. Finkelstein, *The Pharisees*, ii, 1938, pp. 632 ff.

⁴ So Origen (cf. *P.G.*, xiii (1862), cols. 672, 675); R. Kraetzschar, *Das Buch Ezechiel* (1900), p. 4; K. Budde, *E.T.*, xii (1900-1), p. 39, and *J.B.L.*, I (1931), p. 29; C. Steuernagel, *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1912), p. 127; O. Eissfeldt, *Palästinajahrbuch*, xxvii (1931), p. 66 n.; J. Battersby Harford, *E.T.*, xliii (1931-2), p. 24a; J. A. Bewer, *A.J.S.L.*, I (1933-4), pp. 98 ff. and in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, 3rd and later editions, ad loc.; E. J. Young, *Introduction*, p. 238. It is frequently pointed out against this view that nowhere else do we find the prophet's own age used in this way and that it is not a very natural way of expressing it. But on any interpretation the verse is unique. It is to be noted that in Num. iv. 3, 23, 30, 35, 43, thirty appears to be the age at which a Levite entered on his official service, and the same may be true of a priest. The verse would therefore mean that at the age when Ezekiel would have entered on his priestly service, if he had still been in Jerusalem, he was called of God to the prophetic office. Cf. Bewer, *A.J.S.L.*, loc. cit., p. 99. In Luke iii. 23 we are told that Jesus was "about thirty years of age" when he entered on His ministry. It must be recognized, however, that the Hebrew, even as emended by Budde, is not very natural. R. H. Kennett, *Old Testament Essays* (1928), p. 43, thinks Ezekiel may have actually ministered in the Temple and therefore have been more than thirty years old at the time of his call.

⁵ So E. F. C. Rosenmüller, *Scholia in Vetus Testamentum*, VI, i (1808), p. 15; S. Davidson, *Introduction*, iii (1863), p. 141; R. Smend, *Der Prophet Ezechiel* (1880), p. 5. ⁶ Cf. *Hesekiel* (1936), p. 3.

⁷ So J. W. Rothstein, in Kautzsch's *H.S.A.T.*, 3rd edn., i (1909), p. 817,

proposed to change the text to read "thirteenth year" and then reckoned from the captivity of Jehoiachin,¹ as in the other cases.² This cannot be pronounced very satisfactory. It is hard to see why any editor should transfer the date from chapter ii to stand alongside a different date in chapter i, bringing the reader from the thirteenth year of the captivity to the fifth year immediately without explanation, while the corruption of thirteenth to thirtieth presupposed is not an easy one to explain as accidental, and one still harder to explain as deliberate.³

reckoning as the thirteenth year of Nebuchadrezzar. Cf. E. Sellin, *Geschichte des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes*, ii (1932), p. 39. It is to be noted that this yielded a different date from that obtained by Bertholet. For more recent scholars who have followed this way cf. L. Dennefeld, *La Sainte Bible*, vii, p. 468; E. Bruston, *La Bible du Centenaire*, ii (1947), p. 594; A. Lods, *Histoire de la littérature hébraïque et juive* (1950), p. 433. ¹ So P. Auvray, *Ézéchiel* (1949), p. 21.

² W. Erbt, *O.L.Z.*, xxii (1919), cols. 193 f., held that the original text had *third* year, and has been followed by V. Herntrich, *Ezechielprobleme*, p. 74, where, however, the rest of the text is differently reconstructed.

³ Of other views on this date we may note the following: (1) that an original reading *fifth* (of the exile of Jehoiachin) was altered to *thirtieth* to make the *forty* years of Ezek. iv. 6 tally with the *seventy* years of Jer. xxv. 11 (so Bertholet, *Das Buch Hesekiel* (1897), p. 2, following the suggestion of B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia* (1901), p. 202, and earlier *Die Theologie der Propheten* (1875), p. 253 n; so also G. Jahn, *Das Buch Ezechiel auf Grund der LXX hergestellt* (1905), p. 1, and J. Chaine, in *Initiation Biblique*, ed. by Robert and Tricot, 2nd edn. (1948), p. 142); (2) that the date is all that survives of a suppressed prophecy (so R. Dussaud, *R.H.R.*, lxxvi (1917), pp. 137 ff. and Spiegel, *H.T.R.*, xxiv (1931), p. 290); (3) that the reckoning is by the years of Jehoiachin's life (so N. H. Snaith, *E.T.*, lix (1947-8), pp. 315 f.); (4) that the meaning of *thirtieth* year in this verse is the same as that of *fifth* in the following verse, the difference of twenty-five years being accounted for by varying systems of chronology, which elsewhere yield a similar difference (so J. Begrich, *Die Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda* (1929), pp. 206 f. and G. A. Cooke, *The Book of Ezekiel*, pp. 3 f.); (5) that the reckoning is by the years of the reign of Artaxerxes III (so L. E. Browne, *Ezekiel and Alexander*, p. 10); (6) that the reckoning is by the years of Manasseh's reign (so C. C. Torrey, *Pseudo-Ezekiel* (1930), pp. 63 f.); (7) that the thirtieth year of a Jubilee period is meant (so F. Hitzig, *Der Prophet Ezechiel* (1847), p. 3), and S. Fisch, *Ezekiel*, (1950), p. 1b. Of these the view of Torrey has been most often criticized. Cf. K. Budde, *J.B.L.*, I (1931), pp. 20 ff.; S. Spiegel, *H.T.R.*, xxiv (1931), pp. 282 ff.; J. Battersby Harford, *E.T.*, xliii (1931-2), pp. 23 f., and *Studies in the Book of Ezekiel* (1935), pp. 41 ff.; V. Herntrich, *Ezechielprobleme*, p. 51; I. G. Matthews, *Ezckiel* (1939), p. ix. G. Fohrer, *Die Hauptprobleme*, p. 115, criticizes the view of Begrich. The first of the above mentioned views can claim the support of the margin of a single manuscript (cf. J. Ziegler, *Ezechiel* (Göttinger Septuaginta, XVI, i (1952), p. 91), but this was doubtless to

The dates given in the book are almost all in chronological sequence, and some scholars have held that the undated material is here chronologically arranged.¹ In that case there would be a notable difference from the other prophetic books. This would be easily understandable if all the material in the compiler's sources were dated, but since only a few of the chapters are dated, this seems unlikely.² Some have dismissed the dates altogether as spurious, and the work of the editor.³ But this seems quite improbable, since in that case he might have been expected to supply dates throughout. Wheeler Robinson⁴ argues that we have evidence that all the material was not chronologically arranged since iii. 16-21 is placed between the fifth year of the captivity and the sixth month of the sixth year, yet by its subject matter it must be placed after the fall of Jerusalem some years later.⁵ This is not very convincing, since there is harmonize with the following verse, and is of no textual weight. A. van Hoonacker, *R.B.*, N.S. ix (1912), pp. 241 ff., suggested that the text originally read : "The word of the Lord which came to Ezekiel, the son of Buzi, the priest, in the land of Chaldaea (by the river Chebar) during a period of about thirty years." This is very vigorous emendation.

¹ So F. Bleek, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 4th edn., revised by J. Wellhausen (1878), pp. 392 f. Cf. C. F. Keil, *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die Schriften des Alten Testamentes*, 3rd edn. (1873), p. 297, where it is held that the prophecies in each of the three sections i-xxiv, xxxiii-xxxix, and xl-xlviii are chronologically arranged, while those in xxv-xxxii are arranged according to subject matter. Cf. H. Wheeler Robinson, *The Old Testament : its Making and Meaning*, p. 107 : "No other prophet is so consecutive in the arrangement of his book."

² G. Fohrer, *Die Hauptprobleme*, p. 29, rejects the view that the dates are valid for the interspersed passages.

³ Hölscher, op. cit., pp. 108, 125 f., 147, regards all the dates as late redactional; Matthews, op. cit., pp. xiv f., as editorial additions by one who lived in Babylonia among the captives; Torrey, *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, pp. 58 ff., and *J.B.L.*, lviii (1939), pp. 73 ff., as an alteration of dates which originally all fell within the years 30-2 of Manasseh's reign (he notes that the *months* and *days* exhibit a regular sequence, with the exception of viii. 1, where LXX removes this exception), and Irwin, *The Problem of Ezekiel*, p. 265, dismisses them as spurious or at best doubtful. For other discussions of the chronology, cf. R. Dussaud, *R.H.R.*, lxxvi (1917), pp. 144 ff., N. H. Snaith, *E. T.*, lix (1947-8), pp. 315 f., J. Finegan, *J.B.L.*, lxix (1950), pp. 61 ff.

⁴ Cf. *Two Hebrew Prophets*, p. 71.

⁵ Robinson is here following Bertholet, *Hesekiel* (1936), pp. 13 f. So also M.-L. Dumeste, *R.B.*, xlvi (1938), p. 597; L. Dennefeld, *La Sainte Bible*, vii (1947), pp. 462, 457; P. Auveray, *Ézéchiel* (1949), p. 27 n. Cf. also M. A. Schmidt, *Th.Z.*, vi (1950), pp. 91 ff.

nothing in the content of iii. 16-21 to date it after the fall of Jerusalem.¹ Nevertheless, it is very improbable that we have a strictly chronological arrangement, since it is unlikely that an editor would have the means to decide this, and it is probable that iii. 16-21 is not in its original place, since it does not fit very well into its context.²

We may here pause to consider L. E. Browne's solution of the problem of these dates.³ They run mostly from the fifth year to the twelfth year,⁴ and these are all probably to be reckoned from the captivity of Jehoiachin. Three dates, however, do not fall within these limits. They refer to the twenty-fifth year,⁵ the twenty-seventh year,⁶ and the problematical thirtieth year at the beginning of the book.⁷ In the case of the twenty-fifth year, it is not surprising that it falls out of its place in the series, since it introduces the sketch of the restored Temple which was placed at the end of the book. Browne reckons all the smaller numbers from the Hyrcanian captivity, and so brings all these dates down to 254 years below their apparent date. The three larger numbers, however, he reckons from the accession of Artaxerxes III, and avoids offering any explanation of this by saying that it was quite natural.⁸ It would be hard to think of anything more unnatural than to go on reckoning the years of a king long after he was dead. Moreover, xl. 1 states explicitly

¹ In Ezek. xxxiii. 1-9 the thought of iii. 16-21, and in part the language may be found repeated. This is not sufficient reason to transfer iii. 16-21 from its present context, or to conclude that the prophet cannot have been commissioned to the role of "watcher" until after the fall of Jerusalem. In chapter xviii we already read that Ezekiel had exercised the ministry committed to him in iii. 16-21. The role of "watcher" to which he is appointed in this passage is a role of warning, and this is always of the essence of the prophetic function.

² Writers who do not dismember the book, but who hold to its substantial unity, have been prepared to agree that iii. 16-21 is out of place in its context. So E. Bruston, in *La Bible du Centenaire*, ii (1947), p. xxvii b; E. E. Flack, in *Old Testament Commentary*, ed. by Alleman and Flack (1948), p. 743a; E. Power, in *A Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture* (1953), p. 604a. On the other hand C. Kuhl, *Die literarische Einheit des Buches Ezechiel* (1917), p. 14, found that these verses fit well in their present context.

³ Cf. *Ezekiel and Alexander*, Table at beginning and pp. 6 ff.

⁴ Cf. Ezek. i. 2; viii. 1; xx. 1; xxiv. 1; xxvi. 1; xxix. 1; xxx. 20; xxxi. 1; xxxii. 1; xxxii. 17; xxxiii. 21.

⁵ Ezek. xl. 1. ⁶ Ezek. xxix. 17.

⁷ Ezek. i. 1. ⁸ Op. cit., p. 9.

that it was reckoned from the exile of Jehoiachin, and not by the years of any Persian king.¹ As for the date in i. 1, Browne follows Berry² and Albright³ in thinking this indicates the date when Ezekiel completed his book. It seems to me very improbable that Ezekiel actually edited his book, and more likely that it was compiled at about the same time as the other prophetic books. Apart from i. 1, on which I know of no wholly satisfactory solution, it would seem likely that all the other dates are reckoned from the captivity of Jehoiachin. The tablets published by Weidner⁴ just before the Second World War relating to the rations allowed to Jehoiachin and his five children have directed attention anew to that unfortunate monarch.⁵ That he should continue to be thought of by the Jews in exile as their king, and that they should reckon dates by his reign rather than by the years of Zedekiah is in no way surprising.⁶ For it must be remembered that he went into exile when he had been on the throne for three months only,⁷ and therefore the years of his exile would be also the years of his kingship.⁸

The theories that transfer either the prophet himself or his literary creator to a post-exilic age are unconvincing. Here we

¹ In only one of the cases where Browne reckons from the exile of Hyrcania (Ezek. i. 2) is there any explicit reference to the exile of Jehoiachin, though it is probable that the others are reckoned from the same date.

² Cf. *J.B.L.*, li (1932), p. 55.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁴ Cf. *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud*, ii (1939), pp. 923 ff. For translation by A. L. Oppenheim of parts of these texts cf. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, ed. by J. B. Pritchard (1950), p. 308b.

⁵ Cf. W. F. Albright, "King Joiachin in Exile", *B.A.*, v (1942), pp. 49 ff. and J. Finegan, *J.B.L.*, lxix (1950), pp. 61 ff.

⁶ Cf. Albright, loc. cit., pp. 53 f. : "Another product of Weidner's discoveries is new evidence for the authenticity of the Book of Ezekiel. . . . Now we know that Joiachin was not only the legitimate king of the Jewish exiles in Babylonia from their own point of view; he was also regarded by the Babylonians as legitimate king of Judah, whom they held in reserve for possible restoration to power if circumstances should seem to require it." Cf. J. Finegan, *Light from the Ancient Past* (1946), pp. 188 f.

⁷ 2 Kings xxiv. 8.

⁸ In *J.B.L.*, li (1932), p. 93, Albright pointed out that the reckoning by the years of Jehoiachin's captivity, rather than by his reign, would be dictated by reasons of tact, so as not to incur the displeasure of the Babylonian authorities. Cf. *B.A.*, loc. cit., p. 54: "This system of dating is thus one which could scarcely have been invented centuries afterwards; it is a striking confirmation of the genuineness of Ezekiel's prophecies."

may start from the latest such view, that of L. E. Browne. This creates more problems than it solves. Of these a few only can be mentioned here. It has long been held that the latest strand of the Pentateuch dates from the fifth century B.C. L. E. Browne would attribute it to the fourth century B.C.¹ This seems to me to be impossibly late, especially since he assigns the Chronicler to the same century.² The Priestly Code must have been issued and have been combined with the other Pentateuchal sources to form our present Pentateuch before the Samaritan breach became final, since the Samaritans as well as the Jews accepted it as Scripture. On the other hand the compilation of the Chronicler's history—Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah—is almost certainly to be placed after the Samaritan schism, since for the pre-exilic period the northern history is omitted from the books of Chronicles, in contrast to the books of Kings, and a strong anti-Samaritan feeling is evident in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. A considerable interval should therefore be allowed between the promulgation of the Priestly Code and the work of the Chronicler. This is more naturally allowed for on the usual view that the Priestly Code was prepared in the fifth century B.C., and brought to Jerusalem by Ezra, while the Chronicler is placed at about 300 B.C. The debased Hebrew style of the Chronicler as compared with that of the Priestly Code would also suggest that a long interval lay between them.³

For the moment, however, let this pass. Browne holds that Ezekiel wrote chapter xxiv in view of Alexander's crossing of the Dardanelles,⁴ and recognized the immense suffering and slaughter that was inevitable. In the following year, *before the battle of Issus*, Browne thinks the prophet wrote the prophecy against Egypt contained in xxx. 20-26⁵ in which Babylon must stand for Alexander. This would be a highly unnatural cipher for Alexander at this time. In the same month Ezekiel is supposed to have prepared his plan of the Temple and its service, with a

¹ Op. cit., p. 3.

² Ibid.

³ Cf. S. R. Driver, *Introduction*, 9th edn., pp. 505, 535 ff. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 130, where it is said that the writer who exhibits the greatest stylistic affinities with the Priestly Code is Ezekiel.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 7.

⁵ Cf. Browne's table of dates.

view to the creation of a Samaritan Temple for a reunited people. Several other scholars have in various ways associated the plan of the temple with Samaria or Shechem,¹ rather than with the Jerusalem Temple, though it is almost certain that the writer had the plan of the pre-exilic Jerusalem Temple in mind,² and in the view of many scholars must have seen it.³ But if Ezekiel outlined the plan for this prospective Samaritan Temple

¹ Cf. Cameron Mackay, *Princeton Theological Review*, xx (1922), pp. 399 ff., 661 ff.; xxi (1923), pp. 372 ff.; xxii (1924), pp. 27 ff.; *E.T.*, xxxiv (1922-3), pp. 475 ff. (replying to criticisms made by W. F. Lofthouse, *ibid.*, pp. 198 ff.); *C.Q.R.*, cxix (1934-5), pp. 173 ff.; and *E.T.*, lv (1943-4), pp. 292 ff.; M. Gaster, *The Samaritans* (1925), p. 15 (cf. S. Spiegel, *H.T.R.*, xxiv (1931), pp. 273 ff.); J. Smith, *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*, pp. 66 ff.; W. L. Wardle, in *Supplement to Peake's Commentary* (1936), pp. 12 f. (where it is recognized, as by Spiegel above, that the Temple was to be moved farther north than Jerusalem, but without association with Samaria or Shechem). Vogel, in his annotations on Oeder's *Freige Untersuchung*, argued that Ezek. xl-xlviii was written in the interests of a Samaritan plot to persuade the returned Jews to abandon the Temple which they had rebuilt and to erect a new shrine in its stead (pp. 386 ff.). Torrey, on the contrary, holds the book of Ezekiel to be a piece of anti-Samaritan propaganda. Cf. *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, pp. 102 ff. (cf. Spiegel, loc. cit.).

² Cf. M.-L. Dumeste, *R.B.*, xlvi (1937), p. 436; "L'opinion de beaucoup la plus vraisemblable est que l'auteur de ce plan a vu de ses yeux non seulement les ruines du Temple salomonien, mais le Temple lui-même, avec les diverses transformations qu'il avait subies aux époques successives de la monarchie, et que le prophète modifie encore suivant son idéal d'absolue sainteté de la Maison de Dieu. Le plus probable est que cette description date des premiers temps de l'Exil et rien n'autorise à en contester la paternité à Ézéchiel." On the relations between Ezekiel's Temple and Zerubbabel's cf. J. Jeremias, *Z.A.W.*, N.F. xi, pp. 109 ff., where the conclusion is reached: "Die Übereinstimmungen zwischen dem Tempelentwurf des Hesekiel und dem Neubau des Tempels nach dem Exil sind so weitgehende, dass alle Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür spricht, dass der Neubau auf Grund des Entwurfs . . . errichtet worden ist" (p. 112). In an unpublished Lyons dissertation, *Le Culte dans la Littérature prophétique exilienne et postexilienne* (1952), J. Théophane Chary devoted his opening chapters to a careful comparison of Ezekiel's Temple with Solomon's, with the Tabernacle of the Priestly Code, and with the Chronicler's Temple. W. F. Lofthouse, *Israel after the Exile* (1928), p. 88, says: "Ezekiel is influenced by three things, his memories of the Temple of Solomon at Jerusalem, his familiarity with Babylonian art and architecture, and his own sense of symmetry and, generally, of what pertains to the holy." R. H. Kennett, *Old Testament Essays* (1928), p. 43, says: "It is difficult to believe that Ezekiel would have been so well informed about the Temple ritual unless he had actually ministered there as a priest."

³ M. F. Unger, *Bibliotheca sacra*, cv (1948), pp. 418 ff.; cvi (1949), pp. 48 ff., 169 ff., maintains that Ezekiel foresaw a future temple to be constructed in Palestine in the millennium.

for a reunited people,¹ it must have been before the schism between Jerusalem and Samaria became final. It must therefore, *ex hypothesi*, have fallen between the acceptance of the Pentateuch and the work of the Chronicler. Yet Browne attributes the writing of the latest strand of the Pentateuch and the work of the Chronicler to the fourth century. Events must have moved very fast.

Since the law of the Priestly Code must have been established before the Samaritan schism, and Browne assigns the composition of Ezek. xl-xlviii to the year before the building of the Temple on Mount Gerizim, these chapters must have been written when the Priestly Law was already accepted. It was still accepted in the time of the Chronicler. It is scarcely likely that Ezekiel challenged the Priestly Law and demanded the establishment of a new Temple elsewhere than in Jerusalem at such a time, and the common view that Ezekiel stands somewhere between the promulgation of Deuteronomy and the preparation of the Priestly Code is much more natural.

For consider the folly of Ezekiel on Browne's view. Deuteronomy had drawn no distinctions within the Levites, but accepted them all as priests, and laid it down that any country Levite could go to the central sanctuary and minister there.² In the reform of Josiah this was not put into effect.³ The Jerusalem priesthood guarded its own privileges successfully. Ezekiel rationalizes this position, and lays it down that in the restored Temple only the Zadokites shall have the full status of priests.⁴ He proposes some compromise, however, in that he lays it down that the rest of the Levites shall have an inferior status in the Temple.⁵ The Priestly Code modifies this arrangement and provides that the Aaronites shall have full priestly status, while the rest of the Levites shall have a lower status.⁶ The Aaronites

¹ Cf. Ezek. xxxvii. 15 ff. On this passage, cf. W. E. Barnes, *J.T.S.*, xxxix (1938), pp. 391 ff., where it is argued that this passage speaks of two *trees* becoming one, and not two *sticks*.

² Deut. xviii. 6 ff.

³ 2 Kings xliii. 9.

⁴ Ezek. xliv. 15 ff.

⁵ Ezek. xliv. 9 ff.

⁶ Exod. xxviii. 1 ff.; Num. iii. 5 ff.

included the family of Zadok and the family of Abiathar.¹ These two were priests together in Jerusalem in the time of David, but in Solomon's reign Abiathar was dismissed,² and the Jerusalem priesthood had remained Zadokite.³ But Abiathar was of the family of Eli,⁴ the priest of the Ephraimite sanctuary of Shiloh.⁵ What could be more foolish than for Ezekiel, if he was working for a union of north and south, as Browne supposes, to urge that an existing arrangement which recognized the line of the old northern sanctuary should be done away with in the interests of the Jerusalem priesthood, who were to be transferred to a northern sanctuary? It is surely a more likely development that is normally envisaged, with Ezekiel offering the non-Jerusalemite priesthood an inferior status, before any of them had achieved equal status, and the Priestly Code then carrying this a step farther and allowing some equal status.⁶

¹ According to Exod. xxviii. 1, Aaron had four sons, but Nadab and Abihu were consumed for offering strange fire to God (Lev. x. 1 ff.; Num. xxvi. 61). The priestly lines were therefore confined to Eleazar and Ithamar. Zadok is traced in 1 Chron. xxiv. 3 to Eleazar, while Abiathar is traced to Ithamar.

² 1 Kings ii. 26.

³ A few scholars deny that Zadokites here means the descendants of the Jerusalem priesthood and the degraded Levites the priests of the non-Jerusalemite shrines. Thus Messel, op. cit., pp. 133 ff., would identify the Zadokites with part of the Jerusalem priesthood and the degraded priests with other Jerusalem priests who now lost their status. Berry, *J.B.L.*, xxxiv (1915), p. 39, thinks those who were condemned to a lower status had gone astray after Greek idols, and would make the emergence of *Zadokites* to denote the preferred priests later than the use of *Aaronites*. Cf. however, his article "Priests and Levites", *ibid.*, xlii (1923), pp. 227 ff., where he modifies this view, while still finding the reference in Ezekiel to belong to the Greek period and the displaced Levites to be the priests of the Samaritan temple which was destroyed in 130 B.C. In the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Zadokite Fragments the term *Zadokites* is used for the members of the sect of the Scrolls. But here the present writer has argued that the sect stood for the right of the line of Zadok to hold the high priestly office, and the issue in that case was not whether Zadokites alone were entitled to be priests. Cf. *B.J.R.L.*, xxxv (1951-2), pp. 128, 137 ff., and *The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (1952), pp. 79 ff. On the question of the Zadokites in the book of Ezekiel, cf. A. Bentzen, *Studier over det zadokidiske præsterkabs historie* (1931), pp. 44 ff.

⁴ Cf. 1 Sam. xiv. 3, xxii. 9.

⁵ Cf. 1 Sam. i. 3, 9.

⁶ The northern connections of the book of Deuteronomy are often noted, and Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 2nd edn. (1946), p. 241, thinks that its nucleus came from Shechem. Cf. also B. Luther, in E. Meyer, *Die*

These arguments apply with equal or greater force against the other late hypotheses. It is even more improbable that Ezekiel would advocate his policy at the end of the third century B.C., or even about 400 B.C. In his prophecies Babylon is most naturally taken to mean Babylon, and Nebuchadrezzar to mean Nebuchadrezzar. He looked for a destruction of Jerusalem which happened in the days of that monarch, but which did not happen in the later ages to which the work is ascribed.

On the question of Ezekiel's psychology,¹ the transfer of his ministry to Jerusalem is held to ease the difficulty. Wheeler

Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme (1906), pp. 542 ff.; G. A. Danell, *Studies in the Name Israel* (1942), p. 56; and I. Engnell, *Symbolae Biblicae Upsalienses*, vii (1946), pp. 21 f. The present writer thinks it probable that the compilers of Deuteronomy envisaged a reunited Israel with its central shrine at Shechem (cf. *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy*, T. H. Robinson *Festschrift* (1950), pp. 166 f.), but that the fact that Josiah's Law Book was found in Jerusalem when the work of religious reform and the cleansing of the Temple had begun determined the course of events. After the destruction of Jerusalem, when the Temple lay in ruins, it would not seem unpractical for Ezekiel to think again of a reunited Israel along similar lines, with a Davidic king but a central sanctuary established in the north, and with the Jerusalem priesthood having a higher status than the rest of the Levites. But again events determined otherwise, and such a programme would no longer seem realistic after the Jerusalem Temple had been rebuilt and growing tension had developed between Jerusalem and Samaria.

¹ Innumerable studies have been devoted to the psychology and physical condition of Ezekiel, and it is impossible to traverse them here. Klostermann (*T.S.K.*, I (1877), pp. 391 ff.) maintained that the prophet suffered from catalepsy, and this view was accepted by Bertholet (*Das Buch Hesekiel* (1897), pp. 18 ff.); Kraetzschar (*Das Buch Ezechiel* (1900), p. vi); L. Gautier (*Introduction à l'Ancien Testament*, i, 2nd edn. (1914), p. 424); H. Schmidt (*S.A.T. II*, ii, 2nd edn. (1923), p. 395); E. Stave (in *Studier tilgennede Frants Buhl*, ed. by J. Jacobsen (1925), pp. 231 ff.); J. Meinhold (*Einführung in das Alte Testament*, 3rd edn. (1932), p. 260); and A. Lods (*Histoire de la littérature hébraïque et juive* (1950), pp. 435 f.), but rejected by J. Herrmann (*Ezechielstudien* (1908) pp. 75 ff.); J. Touzard (*R.B.*, N.S. xiv (1917), pp. 91 f. n.); D. Buzy (*R.B.*, xxix (1920), p. 209); P. Heinisch (*Das Buch Ezechiel* (*H.S.A.Tes.*) (1923), pp. 14 ff.); W. L. Wardle (*The Abingdon Bible Commentary* (1929), p. 714); M. Schumpp (*Das Buch Ezechiel* (1942), pp. 4 f.); L. Dennefeld (*La Sainte Bible*, vii (1947), pp. 460 f.). F. Spadafora (*Ezechiele* (1948), pp. 14 f.) and E. Power (*A Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture* (1953), p. 603). M. Buttenwieser (*H.U.C.A.*, vi (1930), pp. 3 f.) prefers to see the phenomena of ecstasy in Ezekiel, and says we have no means of establishing catalepsy beyond conjecture. Cf. also the study of the prophet's psychology by E. C. Broome, *J.B.L.*, lxv (1946), pp. 277 ff. (on which, cf. Kuhl, *Th.R.*, N.F. xx (1952), p. 11), and also H. W. Hines, *A.J.S.L.*, xl (1923), pp. 50 ff., and C. G. Howie, op. cit., pp. 69 ff. On

Robinson says: "We have no need to raise difficult psychical theories as to Ezekiel's telepathy and clairvoyance."¹ It is doubtful, however, how far we avoid difficulties by the transfer of the prophet's ministry, and O. Eissfeldt wisely observes that it "may well be asked whether Robinson has not given in too easily to the great difficulty actually lying in the tradition".² The incident of the death of Pelatiah³ and Ezekiel's immediate knowledge of the siege of Jerusalem⁴ are held to be easier to explain if the prophet were on the spot. In the former case the prophet is said to be transported to Jerusalem where he prophesies against Pelatiah, who falls down dead while the prophet is speaking. Mullo Weir points out⁵ that it is not said that Pelatiah died as the result of Ezekiel's word.⁶ Moreover, it is clear that we have a vision rather than an objective experience, since the cherubim lifted their wings.⁷ What we really have then, is a story of Ezekiel's being transported in a vision to Jerusalem, and being so vividly conscious of what he sees there that he utters a prophecy against Pelatiah, and in that moment is aware that Pelatiah has fallen down dead. Similarly in the

the possibility of explaining some of the phenomena by clairvoyance cf. Mullo Weir, *V.T.*, ii (1952), pp. 104 f., and W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 2nd edn. (1946), p. 249. Albright says: "Until the possibility of true clairvoyance has been disproved it would be rash to deny the possibility of Ezekiel's autoptic visions." R. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iii (1927), p. 146, finds evidence of "two souls within one man", due to his double environment, first in Jerusalem and then in Babylonia. Albright, loc. cit., observes: "While the individual is undoubtedly happiest when his personality is most fully integrated, the traditional motto, *mens sana in corpore sano*, is not well calculated for progress since it conduces rather to stagnation."

¹ Cf. *Two Hebrew Prophets*, p. 78.

² Cf. *The Old Testament and Modern Study*, ed. by H. H. Rowley (1951), p. 157.

³ Ezek. xi. 13.

⁴ Ezek. xxiv. 2.

⁵ Cf. *V.T.*, ii (1952), p. 104.

⁶ Torrey, *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, p. 40, says Pelatiah is represented as having died as the result of the prophet's word. He asks: "In what way did this death-dealing prophecy reach Pelatiah at the moment of its utterance, and how did the prophet straightway know of its fatal effect?" M. Buttenwieser, loc. cit., p. 17, thinks the Pelatiah incident was subsequently created. He says: "The most probable explanation is that when some ten years after Pelatiah's death Ezekiel wrote his book, it occurred to him to bring this dramatic occurrence and the imaginary prophecy made on his visionary voyage to Jerusalem into the relation of cause and effect."

⁷ Ezek. xi. 22.

other case we merely have knowledge at a distance of something that could not be known through ordinary channels of communication.¹

G. A. Cooke was disposed to accept the record of these and other things, while holding that today we should express things in other language,² and Widengren has devoted attention to the psychological line of approach,³ and argued that we probably have cases of levitation. "When now the phenomena of levitation are felt extremely strong", he says, "the prophet or seer must have had the feeling that he was not experiencing a vision where he imagined himself to be carried away, but that he was subjected to a real transportation."⁴ That Ezekiel was a strange personality is not made any more improbable by modern study,⁵ and I do not find it improbable that he could be aware of things that happened at a distance with the assurance of certainty.⁶

¹ Mullo Weir thinks that in the case of the siege of Jerusalem it may have been a mere coincidence that the prophet's premonition was correct. Cf. *V.T.*, loc. cit., p. 105.

² Cf. *The Book of Ezekiel*, pp. xxiii, xxvii f.

³ Cf. *Literary and Psychological Aspects of the Hebrew Prophets* (1948), pp. 94 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁵ H. Knight, *E.T.*, lix (1947-8), pp. 115 ff., offers a study of the personality of Ezekiel, in which he argues that such contrasts are to be found within his personality as it appears in the book of Ezekiel that we are bound to resolve him into a duality or plurality of persons. He concludes (p. 120b): "Try as we will these antithetic personalities cannot be harmonized or blended in a consistent and convincing psychological portrait. They must therefore point to a duality or plurality of authorship. Hence the conclusion which is the outcome of modern criticism . . . is strongly reinforced by an inquiry which takes its point of departure in the psychology of religion."

⁶ Nearly twenty-five years ago the writer, then living abroad, was one night unable to sleep and had so strong a sense of a hostile presence in the room that he got out of bed and searched it. This did not allay the feeling, which continued for some time until his whole body was trembling, though he was quite certain he was alone. Suddenly there came a sense of complete serenity, and immediately he fell asleep. The next morning he told his hosts that something had happened the previous night which would profoundly affect the whole current of his life, and though frequently questioned during the next few weeks he did not waver in this certainty. He had no idea what had happened or how it would affect him. Some five or six weeks later he learned that some thousands of miles away a meeting had been held at the precise hour of his disquiet, at which he, and questions affecting his work, had been discussed, when the issue had been one wholly unexpected by him, but one which indeed changed the current of his life. This

While it is wise to speak with caution in the present almost chaotic state of criticism on the book of Ezekiel,¹ I hold substantially by the views with which we began, the views that were almost universal in critical and anti-critical camps at the beginning of the century. I do so, not through any dogmatic predisposition towards those views, or through unwillingness to consider alternative views, but because I believe they better satisfy the evidence we have. I find greater unity in the book of Ezekiel than in Isaiah or Jeremiah, though I do not think we ought to regard the book as compiled in its present form by the prophet himself. Its materials probably go back to him or to his disciples, and were drawn on by a later editor who supplied little that he did not find in his sources. The ministry of Ezekiel I would place wholly in Babylonia² in the period immediately before and after the fall of Jerusalem.³

was in no sense a parallel experience to anything in Ezekiel's life, but it sufficed to warn the writer not to be dogmatic as to the limits of knowledge at a distance, or as to the limits of the effects of action at a distance.

¹ Cf. G. A. Cooke, *J.T.S.*, xxvii (1925-6), p. 202: "No one who has worked at Ezekiel can feel satisfied that all the problems have been solved."

² Cf. A. Bentzen, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, ii, 2nd edn. (1952), p. 128: "The possibility of a Palestinian period in the ministry of the prophet cannot be dismissed *a limine*; but *proof* has not been given against the traditional view." G. Fohrer concludes his study by saying: "Das Ergebnis der Untersuchung hat die alttestamentliche Tradition als zutreffend erwiesen. Mit der grossen erreichbaren Wahrscheinlichkeit lässt sich feststellen, dass Ezechiel in der fröhelixischen Zeit unter den jüdischen Deportierten in Babylonien gelebt und gewirkt hat." Cf. *Die Hauptprobleme*, p. 260.

³ G. Dahl well underlines the importance of the issues which are at stake in all these discussions. He says (*Quantulacumque*, p. 284): "One need hardly point out the imperative need of finding a satisfactory answer to this pressing problem of contemporary criticism; for upon it depends in large measure not only our understanding of the book itself, but also of the whole development of the later Hebrew religion." (I would express my thanks to many scholars, British and foreign, who have enabled me to see many of the works referred to in the notes of this article.)

LES MANUSCRITS AUTOGRAPHES DE DEUX
ŒUVRES DE LORENZO GUGLIELMO TRAVERSAGNI
IMPRIMÉES CHEZ CAXTON¹

PAR JOSÉ RUYSSCHAERT, D.PH.-L.
SCRIPTOR À LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE VATICANE

LORENZO GUGLIELMO TRAVERSAGNI, religieux franciscain de Savone (1425-1503), est à la fois un humaniste et un auteur spirituel. Mais l'humaniste est plus connu que l'auteur spirituel. Du premier nous conservons deux éditions anglaises de son traité d'éloquence sacrée, la *Margarita eloquentiae* ou *Nova Rhetorica*, dont la première est l'œuvre de Caxton, une édition chez le même imprimeur d'une *Epitome* de cette *Nova Rhetorica*—c'est l'incunable si heureusement découvert depuis peu par Mrs. R. S. Mortimer—and une bonne douzaine d'éditions françaises ou allemandes d'un *Ars epistolandi* publié sous le nom de *Guilelmus Savonensis*, nom dont l'auteur usa durant son séjour à Vienne ainsi que nous l'avons montré ailleurs ; de l'auteur spirituel, les œuvres, nombreuses et prolixes, attendent toujours un éditeur. Les études et les charges de l'enseignement, après avoir conduit Traversagni dans plusieurs villes d'Italie, l'ont promené à Vienne, Toulouse, Cambridge, Londres et Paris, pour ne citer que les étapes

¹ Nous venions d'achever la rédaction d'un article sur la vie et les œuvres de Lorenzo Guglielmo Traversagni, paru depuis dans l'*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, t. 46 (1953), pp. 193-210, lorsque nous prîmes connaissance de la note publiée ici même, t. 34 (1951-2), pp. 245-7, où était annoncée la belle découverte faite par Mrs. R. S. Mortimer dans la bibliothèque de la cathédrale de Ripon, d'un incunable de Caxton, resté inconnu jusqu'ici, contenant l'*Epitome* du traité oratoire de cet auteur. Mrs. R. S. Mortimer publiera un article à ce sujet dans un prochain numéro de *The Library*. En attendant, elle a bien voulu avec la plus grande amabilité nous fournir une description détaillée (liste de toutes les rubriques ; incipit des pages ; colophon) de l'imprimé. Nous l'en remercions vivement. Nous nous bornons ici à l'examen des deux œuvres de Traversagni imprimées chez Caxton. Nos lecteurs trouveront dans l'article cité plus haut l'exposé, avec notes justificatives, de la carrière et des œuvres du religieux franciscain. Il faut y corriger, p. 200, n. 2, «8691» en «8991».

principales de ses périples. Finalement, Traversagni est rentré à Savone, sa ville natale, et il est mort dans le couvent qui avait vu les débuts de sa vie religieuse. Les manuscrits de ses œuvres—autographes ou copies—se retrouvent aujourd’hui disséminés dans les bibliothèques d’Europe : grâce aux catalogues, nous en avons repéré en Allemagne, en Angleterre, en Autriche, en Tchécoslovaquie aussi bien qu’en Italie. Les plus importants sont conservés à Savone et à Rome. Ils sont parvenus, dans cette dernière ville, sous Sixte V, grâce à l’initiative d’un jésuite savonais. Ces manuscrits sont entrés au début de ce siècle à la Bibliothèque Vaticane. C’est dans l’un d’eux, le Vatican latin 11441, que nous avons trouvé le texte autographe des deux œuvres imprimées chez Caxton.

Le religieux franciscain fut—si l’on en juge d’après ceux de ses manuscrits qui nous ont été conservés—professeur à Cambridge de 1476 à 1482. Son séjour en Angleterre n’est toutefois pas enclos entre ces deux dates, car il réside encore à Londres en 1483 et en 1485. D’autre part, son séjour à Cambridge n’est pas continu : nous le trouvons souvent à Londres ; une fois—au début de 1480—à Paris, une autre fois—en novembre 1482—à Bruges. A Paris, comme à Cambridge, il se donne le titre de *professor sacrae paginae*. En fait, ce que nous savons de ses cours se réduit à peu de choses : à Cambridge, en 1476, il commente l’*Ad Herennium* et l’*Éthique à Nicomaque* ; en 1478, le *De Civitate Dei* de S. Augustin ; à Paris, en 1480, il donne cours sur la *Nova Rhetorica* qu’il venait de publier l’année précédente.

Le manuscrit Vatican latin 11441 mesure 195 mm. sur 145, et comporte actuellement 538 folios. Un relieur moderne a cousu ensemble à nouveau les quelques dix-huit petits manuscrits qui le composent, et qui furent tous écrits, à des dates diverses, par Lorenzo Guglielmo ou par son frère Giovanni Antonio, dont Lorenzo Guglielmo semble avoir recueilli la bibliothèque. Les cahiers, dont l’ordonnance ancienne est parfois difficile à reconstituer à cause de l’intervention peu heureuse du dernier relieur, sont généralement en papier. De-ci de-là cependant, on trouve des feuilles parchemin à l’extérieur ou au centre d’un cahier.

Huit cahiers, généralement des «sénions», forment le petit manuscrit contenant le texte autographe de la *Nova Rhetorica*. Ils correspondent aux ff. 1-88 du manuscrit actuel. Le texte que nous trouvons dans les incunables est suivi, dans le manuscrit, d'une table de matières. Aussi est-ce au fo. 84^v que nous trouvons le texte du colophon : *Explicit liber tercius et opus¹ rheto(ri)ce facultatis : p(er) fratre(m) Laure(n)tiu(m) guilel / mum de Saona ordinis minor(um) sacre pagine professore(m) ex dictis / testi(m)onijs q(ue) sacratissimar(um) scripturar(um) doctor (um) q(ue) p(ro)batissimor(um)² Compil / latu(m) : & co(n)-firmatu(m) : quibus ex causis censuit : appellandu(m) fore. / Margaritam eloquentie castigate : ad eloque(n)du(m)³ diuina accomodata(m). / Co(m)pillatu(m) aut(em) fuit hoc opus i(n) alma vniu(er)sitate Cantabrigie Anno d(omin)i / 1478. die. 26⁴ Julij : quo die festu(m) Sancte Marthe recolitur : Sub / protectione S(er)enissimi regis Anglor(um). Ebduardi 4^{ti}.⁵* Entre le texte manuscrit du colophon et celui qui fut imprimé chez Caxton,⁶ il y a seulement de légères divergences : *guilelmum* est devenu *Guilelmi*, sans doute par influence du génitif qui figure—à juste titre—dans l'en-tête de la préface de l'ouvrage ; ensuite, et ceci est plus intéressant, l'énoncé de la date est légèrement changé par les typographes qui, trompés par un accident dans l'écriture du 2 (à première vue une rature) impriment : *die et. 6 iulij*.⁷

La première conclusion qui se dégage du colophon est que le texte de cette œuvre a été composé en Angleterre. Cette conclusion est confirmée par l'examen des filigranes : nous relevons une tête de bœuf surmontée d'une étoile ou une main

¹ *et opus* est ajouté par l'auteur au-dessus de la ligne.

² *probatissimorum* : correction par l'auteur d'un mot devenu maintenant illisible et se terminant en *-imor(um)*.

³ *eloquendum* : correction de *elloquendum*, faite sans doute par l'auteur.

⁴ 26 : le 2 semble barré, et a été lu, ainsi que nous le dirons, comme un signe de *et*.

⁵ 4^{ti} : addition d'une autre main de l'époque ; peut-être celle de l'imprimeur ?

⁶ Le colophon est reproduit notamment dans W. A. Copinger, *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium bibliographicum*, t. 2 (Berlin, 1902), n. 5270 et E. G. Duff, *Fifteenth Century English Books* (Oxford, 1917), p. 102, n. 368.

⁷ L'erreur est reproduite également dans la réédition que connaît la *Nova Rhetorica* en 1480 : E. G. Duff, op. cit. p. 102, n. 369.

surmontée d'une fleur. Ce sont deux types que l'on retrouve parmi les papiers utilisés par Caxton lui-même à cette époque.¹ La remarque que nous venons de faire sur la façon dont est indiquée la date dans le manuscrit et dans les incunables nous oriente vers une seconde conclusion : le manuscrit autographe que nous possédons a servi directement à l'impression du texte. Le fait que les pages du manuscrit, et spécialement celles qui sont à l'extérieur des cahiers, sont salies et portent les traces de manipulations nombreuses le faisait déjà penser, mais cette conclusion est établie surtout par la présence dans tout le manuscrit d'une série d'annotations marginales caractéristiques. En effet, on peut relever dans les marges du manuscrit une division du texte à l'aide de chiffres, qui correspond parfaitement aux pages et aux cahiers de l'incunable de Caxton. Cette division du texte commence par une série 5-20, se continue par onze séries 1-20, et se termine par une série 1-12. Or, les exemplaires de l'incunable de Caxton conservés à Upsala² et à Savone³ se composent de douze «quinternions», suivi d'un ternion, et leur texte commence seulement à la cinquième page, tandis que les quatre premières restent blanches. Il est clair dès lors que la division chiffrée du texte que nous trouvons dans le manuscrit n'est autre que l'indication de chacune des pages qui composent les cahiers de l'incunable. Les typographes, tout en composant leur texte, numérotent de cette manière les pages du manuscrit de manière à grouper immédiatement les compositions par unités typographiques, par cahiers. Le Vatican latin 11441 nous conserve ainsi l'exemple le plus ancien qui soit connu

¹ C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes*, tt. 4 et 3 (Paris, 1907), nn. 15116 et 11158.

² L'exemplaire est décrit par I. Collijn, *Katalog der Inkunabeln der Kgl. Universitätsbibliothek zu Uppsala* (Uppsala, 1907), p. 232, n. 942; W. Blades, *The Biography and Typography of William Caxton* (London, 1882), p. 221 et E. G. Duff, op. et loc. cit., le citent. M. Harald J. Heyman, conservateur de la Bibliothèque Universitaire d'Uppsala, nous a fourni des détails complémentaires concernant cet exemplaire.

³ L'exemplaire, coté IX.B.2.18 à la Bibliothèque de Savone, n'est pas cité dans F. Noberasco, *Notazione bibliografica degli incunabuli conservati nella biblioteca civica di Savona*, Reggio d'Emilia, 1936 [= *Scuola di bibliografia italiana*, 42]. M. I. Scovazzi, directeur de cette bibliothèque, nous a fourni les éléments de description nécessaires. L'exemplaire a fait partie de la bibliothèque de Traversagni.

12
et grandeant nobis aici nostri exultescant autem qui ex iudicio nostro detraherunt
et huius polare facultatis uetus emulatur et tanto audiens deceptus per
eadem labores pro maiori studio in hac ipsa sui parte a scilicet uetus non
ueritatem usitata fuisse. et inter legis nostre doctrinam catholicorum
testimonia utrum scripturas sepe ac decenter in testa. Tandem uel
lum ut hi qui nos iisimulat. scilicet postpositus in deo sapientia. siue sapientia
mea.

Vat. lat. 11441, f. 59, ll. 1-6

eadem laborent q̄to maiori studio in hac ipsa sui parte a sac̄
tis uiris nouerint et usitatam fuisse et inter legis n̄re docto
rumq; catholicorum testimonia atq; scripturas sepe ac decenter
sime intertexta. Tandem uelim ut hi q; nos iisimulat: res
licet postpositisq; diuine sapientie siue sanctissime theologie studi

Edition de Caxton, p. 12 du 9^e «quinternion», ll. 1-5

13
premitgratissima uerbo dignitate. Ut uenientia est q; deessa est: usq; ad
usitatissimis priuilegiis summis. In graui figura creuerit et
constituta dictum oratio. Si que cuiusq; eti poterit ornatissima uerba
tuerintur. siue propria fuerint. sive translate. eadem illa ad regis ipsius de q; q;
dictum sum. decenter accomodatabitur. quod dictum quod aperte non
decumane optat domini hyacintini. polareffus q; opus Anselmi aug
ustini de canticis deo confitit notandum. Et si graues sententie que in

Vat. lat. 11441, f. 59, ll. 25-31

2uemiri: siue propria fuerint siue translata eadz illa ad res ip
sas de q; bus dicturi sumus deceter accomodatabitur. Et si graues
siue q; in amplificatione et omissione porti libro explicite fuerint
hoc in sermone coaptabuntur. Et si expunctiones uerbo et si uia
de q; bus paulo post dicturi sumus: suis locis non iepite h; dece

Edition de Caxton, p. 13 du 9^e «quinternion», ll. 1-5

PL. I.—Spécimens du manuscrit autographe et de l'édition princeps de la *Margarita eloquentiae* de fra Lorenzo Guglielmo Traversagni de Savone

L'édition princeps n'est ni foliotée, ni paginée. L'ordre des «quinternions» est donné ici en fonction d'un exemplaire du type de celui d'Upsala.

subiectores lacte flore antiquo antiqui subiectores saphiro pulchro ~
reg. reg. reg. reg. Segdo modo. Noli timere Achas, et cor tuu ne foridet. a
duabz caudis ticonu sumigatiu istor. Isa. 1. certu est n. p. de duobz
regibus qui h. Achas regis Iuda accesserant ad debellandum eum. cu magis
potentia. atqz superbia. & tñ uocat eos caudas ticonu.

Vat. lat. 11441, f. 67v, ll. 15-19

Secundo modo sic. Noli timere Achas: et cor tuu ne formidet
a duabz caudis ticonu sumigatiu istor. Isa. 1. certu est et
q loquebat de duobus regibus q gtria Achas regis Iuda ac
cesserant ad debellandum eum cum magna potentia atqz su
perbia: et tamen uocat eos caudas ticonu

Edition de Caxton, p. 19 du 10^e «quinternion», ll. 1-5

Huic est que ubi filii & pplo. pro certo & ppo abutitur. h.
modo. Breves sunt dies hominis. Job. 14. Ad hoc. Istius homi
statura preua est. Iste quadratur puerse. & bonus est fimo
mug. bona statuta. bona certitudo. Rectus ei diceret. Statuta
indeces i comitatu: deces & mensata. Gressus isup ppositus: ut

Vat. lat. 11441, f. 67v, cinq dernières lignes

tuus. bona statuta: bona certitudo. Rectius enim diceret
Statuta indeces i gressu: decens uel comitata. gressus
in sup ppositus uel deces: q bonu uel malus. Rectius enim dicit
sermo utilis q bonus: bonitas ei ad aiiuz & uoluntate prie
xferunt: Sed qm sermo bñ consulentis: uel sale sapientie co-

Edition de Caxton, p. 20 du 10^e «quinternion», ll. 1-5

PL. II.—Autres spécimens du manuscrit et de l'édition princeps

Dans le premier cas, la page imprimée commence non au début d'une ligne du manuscrit, mais au début d'une phrase.

actuellement d'un texte ayant servi de base à une édition anglaise datée.¹ Il n'est pas sans intérêt de relever qu'en cours d'impression, Caxton supprima les deux premiers feuillets blanches, en remplaçant le «quinternion» initial par un ternion suivi d'une feuille pliée en deux. C'est ainsi que se présentent, en effet, les exemplaires de Cambridge² et de Turin.³

En comparant de plus près incunable et manuscrit, il est possible d'obtenir d'autres renseignements sur les procédés de travail de l'atelier de Caxton. En effet, outre la mention des pages des cahiers imprimés qui figurent généralement dans la marge gauche, une autre indication, liée aux mêmes pages, est à relever, et cette fois, toujours dans la marge droite. En face de la dernière ligne de chaque page imprimée, le typographe met un point, plus généralement une encoche, marquant ainsi l'endroit où il s'arrête dans la composition. En comparant plus attentivement de ce point de vue manuscrit et imprimé, nous pouvons nous rendre compte de la manière dont, en ce moment, procédaient à cet égard les ouvriers de Caxton. Leur principe général était faire coïncider une fin de page imprimée avec une fin de ligne manuscrite, sauf, le cas échéant, à réunir dans l'imprimé les syllabes d'un mot qui, dans le manuscrit,

¹ Les études parues en la matière sont indiquées par R. W. Mitchner, *Wynkyn de Worde's Use of the Plimpton Manuscript of De Proprietatibus Rerum*, dans *The Library*, 5^e s., t. 6 (1951), p. 7, n. 1.

² M. R. James, *A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the Corpus Christi College Library Cambridge*, pars 5 (Cambridge, 1911), p. 102, n. 368; l'exemplaire est également décrit dans E. G. Duff, op. et loc. cit., et dans W. Blades, op. cit. pp. 218-21. Des compléments de description m'ont été fournis par M. J. P. T. Bury, Bibliothécaire de Corpus Christi College.

³ L'exemplaire de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Turin est coté XV.VI.195. Il a pu être examiné directement grâce à la bienveillance de Madame Luisa Nofri, Directrice de cette Bibliothèque et de la Direction du Service des Prêts de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Rome. L'exemplaire est mutilé : il lui manque les deux folios extérieurs du premier de ses «quinternions» dont le texte a été ajouté à la main sur deux folios. Fait digne de remarque, le date *die et 6* a été corrigée à la plume en *die 26*, et l'addition *ducere* qui est faite dans le manuscrit, f. 72, est faite ici également à la main, f. 7^v du 9^e quinternion (= 10^e quinternion de l'exemplaire d'Upsala et de Savone). Nous remercions vivement les directions des différentes bibliothèques de nous avoir permis de vérifier la divergence existant entre les exemplaires de la *Nova Rhetorica*, qui nous était apparue en confrontant les descriptions des exemplaires de Cambridge et d'Upsala.

étaient réparties entre la fin d'une ligne et le début de la ligne suivante. Grâce au point ou au trait apposé à la fin de la dernière ligne manuscrite qui venait d'être composée, il était aisé de savoir où il fallait reprendre le travail de composition : au début de la ligne manuscrite qui suivait le point ou le trait. Ceci est l'usage presque constamment suivi, mais le typographe se contentait parfois du point de repère constitué par la présence dans le manuscrit d'un titre, d'un signe de paragraphe, ou d'une simple ponctuation. Lorsque—fait assez rare—la composition a dû s'arrêter au milieu d'une ligne, la fin de composition est parfois marquée d'un trait dans le texte.

Immédiatement après le manuscrit de la *Nova Rhetorica*, un «quinternion» du Vatican latin 11441 contient, ff. 89-108, l'autographe de *l'Epitome*. Voici le colophon de cet ouvrage tel qu'il figure à la fin du manuscrit : *Explicit Epitoma siue isagogicu(m) marga(r)ite castigate eloq(uen)tie / editu(m) a fr(atr)e laur(enti)o gulielmo de Saona ord(in)is mi(n)or(um) sacre pagi(n)e / p(ro)fessore. 1480. 24 Ia(n)uarij i(n) alma et p(re)clarissi(m)a p(ar)isie(n)si Acha- / demia : sub s(er)e(n)issi(m)o et ch(risti)-anissi(m)o rege fra(n)chor(um). Ludovico. de Valoes / deo i(n)temerate uirgini totiq(ue) curie triu(m)pha(n)ti sint cumulatissime / gra(tia)rum actiones q(ui) dedit m(ih)i opus hoc utcu(m)-q(ue) p(er)fic(er)e.* Le colophon de l'incunable présente avec celui-ci de légères divergences. Les unes pourraient s'expliquer uniquement par la distraction du typographe : *epitonia* remplace ainsi *Epitome* et *guillermo*, *gulielmo*, le *et* a été oublié entre *serenissimo* et *christianissimo*. Peut-être ces fautes existaient-elles déjà dans la copie utilisée par le typographe. Il semble, en tout cas, en être bien ainsi lorsque dans l'imprimé la date est devenue : *M.cccc.lxxx. xxj. Januarij*, et que le roi de France s'y appelle simplement : *Ludovico*.

Cette œuvre a été composée à Paris. La présence de Traversagni en cette ville est établie par ailleurs, mais ici aussi le filigrane du papier employé vient confirmer la localisation : le blason garni d'un lys et surmonté d'une croix est la marque d'un papier en usage à Paris à cette époque.¹ Il n'est pas possible

¹ C. M. Briquet, op. cit. t. 1 (Paris, 1907), n. 1557.

de déterminer avec précision la durée de ce séjour parisien. La dernière trace que nous ayons de la présence de Traversagni en Angleterre est précisément le colophon de la *Nova Rhetorica*, daté du 26 juillet 1478. D'autre part, l'auteur réside encore à Paris le 10 février 1480, tandis que le 30 juillet suivant, il est à Londres. A-t-il envoyé à Caxton ce texte, de Paris, ou le lui a-t-il confié seulement après son retour? Comme le filigrane du papier utilisé pour l'impression se retrouve dans les incunables de Caxton des années 1480-2,¹ on serait plutôt porté à retenir cette dernière hypothèse. En tout cas, le texte manuscrit que nous conservons n'est pas celui qui a servi aux typographes de Westminster: il ne présente aucune trace de manipulations d'atelier, et ses marges ne sont pas munies de la numérotation des pages imprimées. C'est d'ailleurs à la même conclusion que nous amenaient les divergences relevées entre le colophon imprimé et le colophon manuscrit. Mais s'il en est ainsi, ne faut-il pas plutôt croire que la copie utilisée par les ouvriers de Caxton fut envoyée par l'auteur, alors qu'il était encore à Paris? On ne voit pas bien, en effet, pourquoi Traversagni eût fait une copie de son oeuvre, s'il se trouvait lui-même en Angleterre, tandis que cette façon de faire était prudence légitime, s'il s'agissait d'envoyer son manuscrit de l'autre côté de la Manche.

¹ Cf. la note de cette revue, citée supra p. 194, n. 1.

SOME UNPUBLISHED VERSE BY GRESSET

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I

THE following lines, attributed to Jean-Baptiste-Louis Gresset (1709-77) are included in French MS. No. 101 (fols. 53-53^v) in the John Rylands Library, and, to the best of our knowledge, have not hitherto appeared in print :

“ Vers, de Mons^r
Gresset
Sur la Convalescence
De Mad^e la Duchesse de Bourbon.

Vainqueur enfin de la *parque* et du sort,
L'amour a sauvé son image :
Les Dieux jaloux de leur ouvrage
L'ont preservé¹ des rigueurs de la mort.
Perfide où portois tu ta cruelle vengeance ?
Si tu frémis encore de la naissance
Du jeune Enfant² qui doit braver tes coups,
Voulois tu sur la Mère épaiser ton courroux ?
Ainsi jadis ta fureur sans égale,
Precipita¹ dans le sombre séjour,
Celle qui doña¹ le jour
Au fameux vainq^r de *Pharsale*.³
La Mere¹ des *Cesars*,¹ et celle des *Condez*
Coupables à tes yeux d'une offence¹ comune,¹
Devoient subir même infortune.
Nos pleurs enfin et nos vœux secondez
Dérobert à tes⁴ traits leur plus belle victime,
Pour assouvir la haine qui t'anime,
Livre nous si tu veux aux plus rudes hazards ;¹

¹ *Sic.*

² Margin, “ *Le Prince de Condé* ”.

³ Margin, “ *La Mère de César mourut en le mettant au Monde* ”.

⁴ “ *tes* ” written through an erased word.

Nous souffrirons tout sans nous plaindre ;
 Mais aurons nous toujours à craindre
 A la Naissance des Césars ?"

The scrutiny of internal evidence as offered by subject, style and prosody reveals nothing to invalidate the attribution of these lines to Gresset. The poem is a piece of occasional verse such as he, in common with most of his contemporaries, frequently offered to patrons and distinguished persons. The subject allows the lines to be dated fairly precisely, the convalescence referred to being that which followed the birth of the Prince de Condé on 9 August 1736. At that period Gresset was making his entry into the literary salons of Paris, fortified by the reputation he had achieved with his *Ver-vert* and other satirical poems written while he was teaching in the Jesuit colleges of Rouen and Paris. It would therefore seem reasonable to suppose that the lines reproduced above constitute one of those pieces of occasional verse which the circumstances would require from an aspirant to a place among fashionable men of letters. Indeed, there exist several fully authenticated poems of just such a character which Gresset composed at about this time : *A M. de Tressan sur la mort de Bussy-Rabutin* ; *A M. Orry, Contrôleur des Finances* ; *A la Duchesse de Pécquigny*, etc.

As regards form, the lines are typical of the "vers irréguliers" or "vers libres" which Gresset customarily employed in his occasional poems¹—metres of eight, ten, and twelve syllables being used, with the exception of the imparisyllabic line 11. This has no parallel in Gresset's published verse, where lines of seven syllables do not occur in combination with parisyllabic lines. Here, however, it is pertinent to bear in mind that the poem may have been abandoned by Gresset in an imperfect state. In quality and pattern the rhymes show no departure from Gresset's general practice, though it was perhaps the very nature of the genre as much as the poet's personal preference which dictated the use of adequate rather than rich rhymes.

¹ Cf. *Vers sur la Tragédie d'Alzire* ; *Vers sur les Tableaux*, etc.

In the matter of imagery and diction it is difficult to adduce any but negative evidence in support of the attribution, since the classical allusions which the author introduces were part of the literary impedimenta of the age and would have suggested themselves readily to any of his contemporaries. One point, however, may be noted: the reference to *le sombre séjour* is reminiscent of the *royaumes sombres* in the *Vers sur les Tableaux*. In short, while the examination of the evidence from internal sources yields no conclusive argument for the assumption of Gresset's authorship, it may at least be held to offer no serious obstacle to it.

There remains the resort to an investigation of the history of the manuscript with a view to tracing its provenance and determining whether it can be related to one or other of the channels by which Gresset manuscripts have been known to reach the public. "The gathering of Gresset's text has been slow and laborious," wrote Van Roosbroeck in 1924,¹ "and even now, after the successive additions by Renouard, Cayrol and De Beauvillé, much of it seems lost or is very fragmentary or incomplete." It will be useful for our present purpose to recall briefly the rather complicated story. The complexity arises chiefly from the fact that Gresset himself never sponsored any selection or complete edition of his works, although in 1747, disturbed by the corrupt text and spurious intercalations which marred the editions appearing in Switzerland and Holland, he announced his intention of offering to the public a corrected and avowed selection of his works.² This project was never realized, probably because, as he often maintained, "Il ne faut point perdre les années de l'imagination à corriger les ouvrages faits".³ A list containing the titles of the works to be included in the projected edition was discovered among his papers and published by Cayrol.⁴

¹ G. L. Van Roosbroeck, "Unpublished Poems by Gresset", in *Modern Philology*, vol. xxii, p. 46.

² "Lettre au Rédacteur", *Mercure de France*, 30 August 1747.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ L. de Cayrol, *Essai Historique sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Gresset* (Amiens, 1844) (not 1884, as in Van Roosbroeck, op. cit. p. 45, n. 2.)

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Gresset spent the latter part of his life in pious retirement, repenting of his youthful satires on the foibles of religious communities and thereby provoking scornful comments from Voltaire who had once hailed him as an ally. It was rumoured that on the recommendation of the Bishop of Amiens he had burnt nearly all his manuscripts, though quite soon after his death there were those who considered this to be an exaggeration and believed that, in fact, comparatively few manuscripts had thus perished.¹ Confirmation of the more optimistic view was supplied in 1794 when De Longuerue, a nephew of the poet, discovered a large quantity of manuscripts under a staircase in the house which Gresset had occupied in Amiens. Some of these he apparently entrusted to a certain Duméril for editing and publication. Those which remained in the family were eventually sifted by Cayrol, who used them as the basis of his *Essai Historique*. De Beauvillé and Cayrol differ in their assessment of Duméril's responsibility for the fate of the manuscripts placed in his hands, but it seems clear that he was either unable or unwilling to publish them and disposed of them piecemeal by private sale. It was from a dealer who had purchased manuscripts from Duméril—or his executors—that De Beauvillé acquired some of the material published by him in 1863.²

There remain two further sources of Gresset manuscripts: the Jesuits with whom the poet was closely associated in the early and latter periods of his life, and the publisher and bibliophile Renouard who acquired a number of manuscripts at literary sales. The poems made available by Van Roosbroeck (op. cit.) were gleaned from Renouard's papers deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale,³ their former owner having deemed them unworthy of publication. This third source may of course be tributary to the first, nevertheless it is established that a number of Gresset manuscripts, either autographs or copies, reached the literary market and found their way into private collections where some of them must still lie unpublished.

¹ See articles in the *Mémoires Secrètes*, 11 and 22 July 1777.

² V. de Beauvillé, *Poésies inédites de Gresset* (Paris, 1863).

³ MS. fr. 12504.

Hence the interest of the Rylands volume. This compilation consists of manuscript copies of "Fugitive pieces in verse written by, or occasionally addressed to, Gresset", to quote from the Handlist, the sheets being bound into a 12mo volume along with the following printed works of that author, each of which has its own title-page :

Vert-vert, 6th edition, 1736, s.l.

La Chartreuse, 2nd edition, 1736, s.l.

Le Carême Impromptu et le Lutrin Vivant, 1735, s.l.

The manuscript pages contain the following :

1. *Lettre adressée à Mons. l'Abbé Marquet* (commonly referred to as *Adieux aux Jésuites*).
2. *Vers extraits d'une lettre de M. Gresset à Mgr. l'Evêque de Luçon*.
3. Copies de trois lettres de M. Rousseau sur le *Ver-vert*, sur *la Chartreuse*, etc.
4. *Envoy de l'Epître suivante à Made*. . . .
5. *Epître à ma Muse*.
6. *Epître de Mons. Gresset écrite de la Campagne au Père (Bougeant)*.
7. *Vers sur les Tableaux exposés à l'Académie Royale de Peinture*.
8. *Epître de M. Gresset à M. Orry*.
9. *Epître de M. Gresset à sa sœur sur sa convalescence*.
10. *Epître de M. de B. à M. Gresset*.
11. *Epître à mes dieux pénates par Mr. Gresset*.¹
12. *Vers de Mr. Gresset sur l'Alzire*.
13. *Epître sur la Paresse par M. Gresset*.¹
14. *Vers de Monsr. Gresset sur la Convalescence de Mad^e la Duchesse de Bourbon*.
15. *Vers à M. Gresset sur l'Epître à sa sœur*.
16. *Réponse aux vers de Mons. Gresset sur les Tableaux*.

We have here a "recueil factice" analogous to those published in Amsterdam in Gresset's lifetime ;² indeed, but for the *Vers sur la Tragédie d'Alzire* (1736), the *Epître à mes dieux pénates* and the *Epître sur la Paresse* (both now generally attributed to

¹ *Sic.*

² 1739, 1745.

the Cardinal de Bernis), and the *Vers sur la Convalescence de la Duchesse de Bourbon*, the contents of the Rylands volume are identical with those of the Amsterdam *Recueil* of 1739.

The previous owner of the volume was G. H. Adshead, though the title-page (which is strictly that of the first printed poem, *Ver-vert*), bears an earlier signature, that of Cyrus Redding, with the date 1817. Redding (1785-1870) was a journalist, newspaper editor and writer of some repute. In the year inscribed upon this volume he was editor of *Galignani's Messenger* with his office in the rue Vivienne, Paris. Recalling this period of his life in his *Memoirs*, he records one incident which has some relevance to our investigation: "While I was in Paris . . . died the Rev. Sir Herbert Croft. He had planned not only an English but a French dictionary of which I possess a specimen. The following are lines by him never before published . . ." (then follows a poem in Latin, beginning "Si mihi, Musa, unquam . . .").¹

Croft, an amiable if somewhat eccentric man of letters, lived in France continuously from 1802 until his death in 1816, settling in 1805 in the vicinity of Amiens where he shared the country house occupied by Lady Mary Hamilton, the author of several novels. Here he resided until 1812, when he was appointed Paris correspondent of an English newspaper. He has some claim on the attention of the literary historian, quite apart from his miscellaneous publications, since he and Lady Hamilton gave employment to the young Charles Nodier, who was for some years their secretary and literary factotum.² More relevant to our enquiry is the fact that it was Croft who supplied Renouard with a copy of a Gresset manuscript containing *Le Parrain Magnifique*, published for the first time by the latter in 1810.³

The significance of this fact is that it completes a channel of communication stretching from Gresset to Redding, Croft having had access to an unpublished Gresset manuscript and Redding in turn having come into possession of a manuscript

¹ Cyrus Redding, *Yesterday and Today*, vol. iii, ch. vii, pp. 274-80.

² See Larat, *Bibliographie de Ch. Nodier*, "Pièces inédites".

³ *Ibid.* p. 26.

work by Croft. It therefore seemed legitimate to enquire whether the poem in the Rylands volume might not have arrived at its present location by this same channel. Unfortunately no confirmation of this hypothesis is given by an examination of the handwriting of the manuscript. The lines are carefully copied in an eighteenth-century French hand which is not that of Gresset himself ; it bears no resemblance to Sir Herbert Croft's hand, though certain irregularities of spelling and punctuation are such as one might expect to find in a copyist more familiar with English than with French orthography, e.g. l. 6 *encore* where the metre clearly requires *encor* ; l. 14 *offence* for *offense* ; l. 19 *hazards* for *hasards* ; and in ll. 5, 8, etc. the omission of hyphens in the verbal forms *portois tu*, *voulois tu*, etc.

In conclusion, while it has not been possible to prove that the lines under consideration passed through the hands of Sir Herbert Croft as did *Le Parrain Magnifique*, it is established that there existed a route by which unpublished works of Gresset could have reached an English library within fifty years of the poet's death. As regards the prior question of the authenticity of the poem, we have not accepted without reflection the attribution prefixed or reproduced by the copyist, since he, like many others, erred in crediting Gresset with two poems now recognized as the work of the Cardinal de Bernis. In the present case, however, it seems highly improbable that such a confusion can again have arisen. No editor has claimed this poem for the Cardinal in any collection of his works we have been able to consult, and its style is far removed from the florid and stilted manner of "Babet la Bouquetière". Indeed, to digress into the realm of De Bernis is to return with a keener awareness of the affinities which exist between the Rylands poem and the published works of Gresset.

II

The perusal of as many editions of Gresset's works as could be traced, undertaken in connection with this enquiry, has provided an outline of the growth and vicissitudes of his literary reputation which is not without interest. The appeal of his *chef-d'œuvre*, *Ver-vert*, was immediate, and this poem, in

conjunction with *Le Carême Impromptu* and *Le Lutrin Vivant*, saw half-a-dozen editions within the space of a year. This success emboldened Gresset's editors to add, first his *Epîtres* and then, from 1742 onwards, his *Odes*, and the early translation of the *Eclogues* of Virgil. These editions all originated outside France, chiefly in the Netherlands, and although Gresset affected to disavow them, it is clear that he connived at them until the errors and accretions contained in the Amsterdam edition of 1747 raised a formal protest from him. "J'avais tout lieu, depuis quelques années, de me louer du bon procédé de la compagnie des libraires de Hollande", he wrote in a letter to the editor of the *Mercure de France*,¹ a letter which begins: "Je vous serai très obligé, Monsieur, si vous voulez bien insérer, dans vos Mémoires, une protestation contre toutes les éditions qui ont apparu sous mon nom jusqu'ici. . . . Comme elles sont toutes également informes et faites pour tomber d'elles-mêmes, j'avais toujours négligé d'en publier un désaveu formel; mais la nouvelle et misérable édition, qui paraît depuis quelques jours en 5 parties, me donne trop d'humeur pour pouvoir me taire plus longtemps. . . . On a grossi le recueil d'une infinité de fatras que je voulais laisser dans l'oubli . . . je me trouve chargé de beaucoup d'autres mauvaises pièces qui ne sont pas de moi."

It seems that Gresset would have preferred the public to remain in ignorance of the early essays in verse which preceded *Ver-vert*; there is a trace of mock modesty in the violence of the term "fatras" and more than a little exaggeration in the phrase "beaucoup d'autres mauvaises pièces", since the edition in question contains only two items of which Gresset was not the author, neither of which is explicitly attributed to him. It is as if he thought to compensate for the tardiness of this disclaimer by the vehemence of the terms in which it is couched. Only one further edition appeared in Holland during the poet's lifetime, the source of unofficial editions having removed to London immediately following the author's protest, whence they originated at fairly regular intervals almost until the year of his death.

¹ "Lettre au Rédacteur", *Mercure de France*, 30 August 1747, quoted by Cayrol, op. cit. vol. i, pp. xviii ff.

The last edition recorded during Gresset's lifetime is that of 1773 ; the first posthumous edition is the selection of 1781. This gap of eight years, without precedent during the poet's lifetime, cannot be due entirely to the fact of his decease, for no verse from his pen had reached the public since 1765 ; during his later years he was content to address himself to an intimate group of friends who respected his confidence. A contemporary periodical, *L'Espion anglais*, attributed this sudden decline in his popularity to an address which Gresset had given to the Académie during one of his rare visits to the capital, in 1774. According to this journal,¹ he had seized this opportunity to launch a violent and unprovoked attack upon the doctrines of the Encyclopédistes, his remarks being greeted with frigid silence. This coldness seems to have spread to the public at large, lasting until 1781, the date of the first posthumous edition, sponsored by the Comte d'Artois. This is a cautious and critical selection, comprising only works of undoubted merit and popularity, the same, in fact (with one slight variation), as that offered to the public by one of the most recent editors of Gresset, A. Quantin, in 1883.

The first attempt at a complete edition after the poet's death was made in Amsterdam in 1787 ; in 1794 Volland reproduced this edition in Paris. The absence of an edition during the early years of the Revolution is to be attributed rather to the changes in public taste induced by the pressure of circumstances than to the boycotting of one who might have seemed compromised by his associations with the church and the nobility. Ears grown accustomed to violent and bombastic diatribes would no longer appreciate the gentle and urbane satire of the author of *Ver-vert*. One may perhaps discern in the revulsion of feeling provoked by the Terror and the reaction sanctioned by the signing of the Concordat, a movement favourable to the resurgence of Gresset's popularity which is noticeable during the period 1794-1806. From the latter date until 1835 the tide is in full flow, checked only by the disruption of national life consequent upon the decline

¹ Quoted by L. Derome, *Poésies choisies de Gresset* (Paris, 1883), Notice, p. xxxviii.

and fall of the Empire. The security of Gresset's reputation owed much to the fact that his works could number admirers in both ideological camps. His satirizing of the foibles of religious communities continued to please the rationalists without giving offence to the "dévots", who remembered with indulgence that he had begun his literary career as a protégé of the Jesuits and had finally returned to the fold after his incursion into worldly society. Nevertheless, it was primarily the appeal of his witty and elegant badinage which earned him the admiration of readers as widely remote as Robespierre¹ and Bonald.²

The most famous, and still the most comprehensive edition of the poet's works is that which Renouard published in 1811. Even so, in their eagerness to indicate the merits of this edition, bibliographers and literary historians have done much less than justice to a noteworthy edition brought out by F-J-M. Fayolle seven years earlier, and reprinted, in a different format, in 1806 and 1811.³ Indeed, if one leaves aside *Le Parrain Magnifique*, *Le Gazetin*, and the *Lettre d'un Homme Retiré du Monde*, which were not brought to light until 1810, the superiority of Renouard's edition is found to derive from the inclusion of two minor items not previously published. There are grounds for believing that the neglect of Fayolle's edition was deliberately fostered by Cayrol, for his attention had been drawn to the 1806 edition by his friend L. du Bois, to whom he submitted the manuscript of his *Essai historique*. "Cette édition de M. Renouard", wrote du Bois, "que vous citez comme la première de celles qui ont recueilli le plus d'ouvrages de Gresset, est postérieure de plusieurs années à l'édition stéréotype de 1806, publiée par M. Fayolle, et ne donne presque rien de plus qu'elle. . . . A tout seigneur, tout honneur." Cayrol's probity obliged him to print this criticism, but apparently he declined to modify his text in the slightest, relegating the communication from du Bois to a footnote⁴ which seems to have been overlooked by subsequent

¹ *Eloge de Gresset*, Mémoire de Maximilien Robespierre pour le prix de l'Académie d'Amiens, 1785.

² *Recherches philosophiques*, vol. i, ch. ix, p. 426 (Leclerc, Paris, 1818).

³ Quérard, *La France littéraire*, t. iii, pp. 470-1, lists all three editions.

⁴ Cayrol, op. cit. t. i, p. 43 n.

scholars who have used his *Essai historique* as their principal source of information.¹

A clue to the motive behind this extreme reluctance to admit Fayolle's claims is supplied by the frequency with which Cayrol expresses his disapproval of the part played by Duménil. The latter, it will be remembered, had been entrusted with some of Gresset's manuscripts, and it was from Duménil that Fayolle, in his *Notice sur Gresset*, admitted having acquired some of the poems which distinguish his edition. Duménil's willingness to part with individual manuscripts naturally rendered more difficult Cayrol's attempt to give a complete and historical account of Gresset's works, and so the latter vented his displeasure on the editor who had benefited from Duménil's conduct. In actual fact, only about half of the material in Duménil's possession passed to Fayolle ; according to Herrenschwand,² who does not indicate the source of his information, no trace was found of the remaining manuscripts on Duménil's death. He concludes that they were disposed of by sale, either by Duménil or his heirs, eventually reaching the private collector who some years later offered them to the municipality of Amiens. This offer having been declined, the manuscripts were purchased by De Beauvillé and published by him in 1863.

The period between 1794 and 1835 proves to have been remarkably productive of both complete and selective editions of Gresset ; we have noted thirty-one, as compared with the twenty-seven which appeared during the years 1730-77. Nearly two-thirds of the total of posthumous editions were published after 1820, the date at which, if we are to believe Derome,³ Gresset began to be eclipsed by the more brilliant constellation of Romantic poets. Clearly this is anticipating events : the facts prove that Gresset, like Delille and Parny, continued to find a public for many years after that date. It is true that we have traced no edition for the period 1813-22, but this lacuna can merely have been enlarged slightly by the success of Lamartine's *Premières Méditations* ; its existence is to be explained by the circumstances of social instability attendant upon a change of dynasty and constitution,

¹ E.g. K. Herrenschwand, *J.-B.-L. Gresset, sein Leben und seine Werke*, Inaug. Diss. (Zürich, 1895). ² Op. cit. p. 104. ³ Op. cit. p. xxxix.

circumstances hardly favourable to literary revivals. The consolidation of the restored monarchy, the desire to re-establish links with the Ancien Régime and the antipathy felt in certain quarters towards recent literary tendencies which seemed out of harmony with the French character, would suffice to account for the revival of Gresset noticeable between 1822 and 1835, when scarcely a year elapsed without at least one edition making its appearance. Most of these are selections which show but little variation in the works chosen for inclusion. By 1830 the criteria adopted by editors had clearly become more severe, and although the successful adaptation of *Ver-vert* to the theatre in 1832 apparently encouraged Treuttel and Würtz to offer a generous selection of the poet's works, the editions which followed during the ensuing thirty years limited their scope to a few works of proven merit.

The perusal of the prefaces to some of the editions appearing in the nineteenth century reveals the varying grounds on which Gresset's reputation was defended. Hédouin in 1823 described him as " le poète le plus original de son siècle " ; in 1832 Gence hailed him as the guardian of that native French tradition which extends from Rabelais by way of La Fontaine and Voltaire to Béranger, a tradition which he preferred to " le débordement de cette sentimentalité élégiaque à laquelle on se façonna par imitation de quelques poésies étrangères toutes imprégnées des brumes du Nord et du spleen britannique ". He went on to claim that " Le public aimera encore ce qu'il a aimé ". It must be admitted that Gence was nearly eighty years of age when he wrote thus ; his prophecy was inspired rather by nostalgia for the fashions of his youth than by the study of trends in contemporary taste. Charles Nodier, in his Foreword to an edition produced in 1839, re-echoed Hédouin's appraisal of Gresset's merits, predicting that the demand for his works would persist and advising future editors that his reputation could best be safeguarded by publishing only his acknowledged masterpieces.

This advice was in effect accepted by almost all subsequent editors, though in 1866 Garnier frères made once more accessible to the public a lavish selection of the poet's works as part of their collection of French classics. It is significant that of the

editions which belong to the period subsequent to 1835 several possess the attraction of a novel format or fine craftsmanship, and were clearly destined to appeal to a limited public of bibliophiles and connoisseurs. The most recent edition is that of 1898, a reprinting of the edition which first appeared in 1865 in the "Collection des Meilleurs Auteurs Anciens et Modernes" of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. It contains only three works : *Ver-vert*, *Le Carême Impromptu*, and *Le Méchant*. If Gresset is remembered today it is perhaps solely as the author of *Ver-vert*, the poem with which he first attracted the attention of the public.

WAR AND PEACE IN VIRGIL'S *AENEID*¹

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ARISTOTLE in the Seventh Book of the *Politics*, discussing the supreme good for individuals and states, lays it down that the virtues of peace are the most necessary for both. He criticizes the states that have lived for war and conquest,² and maintains that war cannot be regarded as a reasonable object for any state, since it is nothing but a means towards the securing of peace. "Facts as well as arguments", he says, "prove that the legislator should direct all his military and other measures to . . . the establishment of peace. For most of the military states are safe only when they are at war, but fall when they have acquired their empire; like unused iron they lose their edge in time of peace. And for this the legislator is to blame, since he has never taught them to lead the life of peace."³ I have wondered whether something of the same doctrine is not implicit in the latter part of the *Aeneid*. The war which is fought by Aeneas has been undertaken reluctantly and with no purpose of conquest:⁴ it is directed always to the aim of securing peace, both for his own people whom he wishes to see quietly settled in Italy their ancestral⁵ home, and for his Latin opponents whom he has no wish to subdue or enslave.⁶ He pursues war not for the sake of despotism, but for mutual peace and goodwill and the well-being of the governed.⁷ By contrast, his counterpart Turnus appears to have no higher end than conquest and victory: he is a man of war, educated only for fighting, showing indeed excellent qualities in action, but knowing nothing of the arts and virtues of peace, and therefore incapable of maintaining a state except in preparation for war and in the active conduct of war.⁸

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 11th of March 1953. ² Arist., *Pol.* vii. 2. 9-12. ³ Ibid. vii. 14. 22.

⁴ Virg., *Aen.* xi. 108-13. All references, unless otherwise stated, will be to Virgil's *Aeneid*. ⁵ vii. 206 ff. and 240 ff. ⁶ xii. 189-91.

⁷ Cf. Arist., *Pol.* vii. 14. 21 *fin.*

⁸ Cf. ix. 603 ff.

The climax towards which the *Aeneid* moves is the defeat of Turnus by Aeneas and the consequent fusion of the Trojan and Latin peoples into one nation ;¹ and from this in the fullness of time, by the will of heaven, is destined to come the Empire of Augustus which will confer the Pax Romana on the whole world.²

In writing the *Aeneid* Virgil had more than one purpose. Primarily and ostensibly he was composing an epic in the Homeric manner about the Trojan leader Aeneas and his adventures and exploits as he leads the remnant of his people to a new home in Italy after the capture and ruin of Troy by the Greeks ; and the poem may be read, and often is read, for the immediate interest of the story alone. But a tradition, which by the time of Virgil was universally accepted, connected Aeneas with the pre-historic origins of the Roman people ; and therefore the deeper and more serious purpose of the epic is to honour the Roman state, partly by recounting its noble beginnings in the heroic age, and partly by using every artistic and poetical expedient to project the mind of the reader down the centuries to the greatest events and personages of Roman history and especially to Augustus himself, whose rule is seen as the culmination and perfection of the thousand years that preceded. It would have been interesting to know by what process of experimentation Virgil arrived at the decision to make Aeneas the hero and theme of his epic. It is clear from indications in his earlier works, the *Eclogues*³ and *Georgics*,⁴ that he had first thought of a historical poem, probably on the model set by Ennius in the *Annales*, in which the poet takes for his subject a famous period of history and uses it for the purpose of a laureate epic. But, in doing so, he necessarily loses the power of artistically designing his plot and shaping his characters ; and he cannot select from the available material just so much as will suit his purpose, because in a historical subject the fixed order of events and the known character of the personages permit only the smallest modification ; so that in this type of epic the only outlet for invention lies in a rhetorical and psychological treatment such as later we find in Lucan's *Pharsalia*.

¹ vii. 98-101 and 255 ff.

² i. 286 ff.

³ Virg., *Ecl.* vi. 3 : cum canerem reges et proelia.

⁴ Virg., *Georg.* iii. 46-47 : accingar dicere pugnas Caesaris.

Virgil's choice of a mythological hero, yet one connected traditionally with the origin of Rome, had two results: it released him from the limitations of the Ennian epic, and it put him in command of his material—to accept or reject, to modify or invent, as best suited the needs of his work. Certainly war is a theme which is common to both the Homeric and the Roman type of epic: the war which Aeneas fights has elements of both types: it is set in the Homeric age and the action is largely modelled on the Homeric pattern: but the chief actor, Aeneas, is more a Roman than a Homeric character—he is invested in the *Aeneid* with the Roman qualities of fortitude, devotion to duty, and political sagacity; and, as by much labour he wins through to victory in a war which was forced upon him, and as he uses his victory not to exact vengeance (as the Greeks had done at Troy) but to unite the Trojan and Latin peoples in a statesmanlike peace, it may well be that Virgil wished his readers to see in this *primaeval* ancestor of Rome a prototype of the historic qualities by which many great Roman soldiers and statesmen, and especially Augustus, had consolidated their country in strength, unity and peace.

In the first half of his poem Virgil makes it clear that part of his subject will be war. *Arma virumque cano*, he begins: and he strews hints of the coming battles all through the first six books. In the First Book Jupiter foretells that Aeneas *bellum ingens geret Italia*.¹ In the Third, Helenus speaks prophetically of *Italiae populos venturaque bella*,² and Anchises at the first sight of Italy exclaims *bellum, o terra hospita, portas*.³ In the Fourth the final imprecation of Dido refers to Aeneas as *bello audacis populi vexatus et armis*.⁴ In Book Five the spirit of Anchises tells Aeneas: *gens dura atque aspera cultu/debellanda tibi Latio est*.⁵ And in Book Six, when Aeneas has landed in Italy at Cumae and the critical time is nearer, the Sibyl gives a vivid intensity to the prophesy by exclaiming, *bella, horrida bella / et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno*;⁶ and at the end of the Book, when the war is immediately imminent, Anchises gives his

¹ i. 263.

² iii. 458.

³ iii. 539.

⁴ iv. 615.

⁵ v. 730-1.

⁶ vi. 86-7.

son advice as to how he should meet it: *exim bella viro memorat quae deinde gerenda / Laurentesque docet populos urbemque Latini.*¹ There is thus, in the earlier part of the poem, a continual preparation for the events of the latter part; and when in Book Seven the poet addresses himself to the theme of the war, which we already know to be critical for Aeneas' mission and therefore critical for Rome, it is natural that he should call on the Muse for her special help because *maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo, / maius opus moveo,*² "a greater history opens before me, and a greater task I commence".

It would be wrong to interpret this as suggesting any elation on Virgil's part at the prospect of describing the war or as meaning that war in itself and for itself is glorified in the *Aeneid*. War in the *Aeneid* is a much grimmer business than in the *Iliad*; it has not the same vital energy and éclat as in Homer's portrayal; there is still the same pathos, but not the same verve. The fact is that Virgil was not a man of war and is describing war, not from life as does Homer, but from a distillation blended by his imagination from his reading of Greek poetry and history. Virgil in truth hated war. That is clear from the cruel realities that lie behind the idyllic fictions of the *Eclogues*,³ or that emerge in the early part of the *Georgics*,⁴ two works on which the civil wars of his youth have left a deep mark, partly in the sadness he feels at the destruction of human happiness and prosperity and at the desolation caused in the countryside, and partly in the welcome he gives to the young Octavian,⁵ who appears as the divine liberator and the author of peace and restoration. Here in the *Aeneid* he characterizes war by such epithets as *horridum*,⁶ *infandum*,⁷ *lacrimabile*,⁸ *crudele*,⁹ *triste*,¹⁰ and condemns it in one scathing and comprehensive phrase as *scelerata insania belli*.¹¹ But at the outset of Book Seven, when Aeneas has accomplished the first part of his mission, Virgil is conscious that his hero stands at a turning-point even more critical than at Dido's court in Carthage. The future of the Trojan people and of the

¹ vi. 890-1.

² vii. 44-5.

³ Virg., *Ecl.* i. 67 ff. and ix. 2-4.

⁴ Virg., *Georg.* i. 489 ff.

⁵ Virg., *Ecl.* i. 42 ff. and *Georg.* i. 500-1.

⁶ vii. 41.

⁷ xii. 804.

⁸ vii. 604.

⁹ viii. 146; xi. 535.

¹⁰ vii. 545; viii. 29.

¹¹ vii. 461.

Latin people and of the Roman people that will spring from their union—all this depends on the result of the coming war. It is in this fateful sense that Virgil speaks of the war as *maior rerum ordo, maius opus* : for this will be the climax of his epic.

Aeneas the hero of the epic carries over from the *Iliad* a very considerable reputation as a warrior and leader of men ; and Virgil establishes his renown by giving us in Book Two a vivid picture of his courage and prowess against the Greeks on the night of Troy's capture and ruin. If we require any further evidence, it is given almost incidentally in the description of the panic and excitement caused among the spirits of the Greek warriors in the Underworld when they see their former enemy Aeneas approaching in the half-light of the Elysian plains ;¹ or later in the poem when Diomedes, once the most valiant of the Greek fighters at Troy and now a settler in Apulia,² sturdily refuses to take the field against a man whom he speaks of as equal only to Hector in the courage and skill with which he had held the Greeks off from Troy for ten years.³ Wherever Aeneas goes in his wanderings, his fame has preceded him,⁴ and he is recognized as a famous soldier whose support and alliance it would be worth much to secure.⁵ But Aeneas is no soldier of fortune, no mercenary. His sole purpose is to find the land promised by fate and to settle his followers there in a new city of Troy.⁶ In Book Seven the request which he makes by his ambassadors to King Latinus is utterly peaceful :

dis sedem exiguum patriis litusque rogamus
innocuum et cunctis undamque auramque patentem.⁷

The whole emphasis of this early part of Book Seven is on peace. The Trojans beg for peace. Their envoys carry the emblems of peace :⁸ Latinus promises them peace :⁹ and the ambassadors return to Aeneas as the bearers of peace.¹⁰ The contrast with the latter part of the book is artistically contrived ; for the situation that had seemed so promising is changed almost in an hour ; and instead of a treaty Aeneas is involved in a war which, with battles and slaughter, and much disturbance in

¹ vi. 489-93.

² xi. 246-7.

³ xi. 281 ff.

⁴ Cf. i. 565 ff., and vii. 195-6.

⁵ Cf. vii. 236-8.

⁶ i. 205-6 ; vii. 239 ff.

⁷ vii. 229-30.

⁸ vii. 153-5.

⁹ vii. 260 ff.

¹⁰ vii. 285.

heaven as well as on earth, will continue almost to the end of the poem. Though Aeneas' mind is often perplexed, his will never flinches. He is assured by signs and omens that he is the earthly agent of the divine purpose and he therefore trusts that in the end the cause favoured by Heaven will prevail.¹ He arms himself for the fray, and inspires his men with his own resolution: on the battlefield he fights, leads, and directs with a ubiquitous energy that reminds Virgil of the giant Aegaeon breathing fire from fifty mouths and operating a hundred hands at once.² But Aeneas has the vision to see beyond the war. He loses no chance to be conciliatory or to create a predisposition for peace, as when he grants the truce to the Latins,³ or hands back the body of Lausus to his people,⁴ or offers to limit the general conflict by meeting Turnus in single combat on terms that guarantee the security of both peoples.⁵ This is the Aeneas who emerges as the hero of the poem. He is much more effectively revealed in the second part than in the first.

When the Trojans entered the Tiber⁶ and built their fortified encampment on the south bank near the river-mouth,⁷ the internal situation in Italy, unknown to Aeneas, had in several ways been prepared by the will of Heaven to his advantage. Immediately south of him lay the kingdom of Latium, ruled over by King Latinus,⁸ an old man without male heir (his only son, we learn,⁹ had died in youth *fato divum*) but with a marriageable daughter Lavinia,¹⁰ sought by many suitors from all over Italy both for her beauty and for her dowry which would bring the reversion of the kingship to a son-in-law. Just south of Latium was the neighbouring kingdom of Daunus, king of the Rutulians, with Ardea as his capital.¹¹ Daunus too was old,¹² but he had a son to succeed him—the young, enterprising soldier Turnus, who was generally thought to be the most favoured suitor for Lavinia, since he was handsome and of noble lineage and had the influential support of the girl's mother, the queen Amata.¹³ But King Latinus had been put off by mysterious omens and

¹ Cf. xii. 187-8.

² x. 565 ff.

³ xi. 108 ff.

⁴ x. 825 ff.

⁵ xi. 115 ff. and xii. 190 ff.

⁶ vii. 30-6.

⁷ vii. 105-6, 157-9.

⁸ vii. 45-6.

⁹ vii. 50-1.

¹⁰ vii. 51-5.

¹¹ Cf. vii. 409-12.

¹² Cf. xii. 22 and 43-5.

¹³ vii. 55-7.

oracles in which (significantly for Aeneas) Heaven had warned him not to marry his daughter to any Italian suitor but to wait for a foreign son-in-law.¹ Meanwhile, a revolution had broken out in the Etrurian city of Caere² to the north of the river and the tyrant of the city, Mezentius, had escaped with his son Lausus and had taken refuge with his friend Turnus at Ardea.³ The Etruscans were determined to reclaim Mezentius for punishment, and had mobilized their army and fleet in readiness to sail south and attack Turnus⁴—only again Heaven had intervened (significantly for Aeneas) forbidding them to move unless under the command of a foreign leader.⁵ Aeneas learns of the Etruscan situation when he visits the kingdom of Evander, which lies up the river, exactly on the spot which was later to be the site of Rome.

Turnus is presented as a foil and contrast to Aeneas. The older man is experienced, prudent, and dignified, with a grave Roman sense of responsibility. Turnus is the typical heroic fighter,⁶ brave, resourceful, impetuous and confident, but also headstrong, and at times cruel. He lives for fighting and profits by fighting; we are told that he has won many cities by war;⁷ he has beaten off the Etruscans from attacking Latium,⁸ and has seemed likely to win Lavinia and Latinus' kingdom as his reward.⁹ He had great influence and power both among his own Rutulians and among the Latins; and he is threatening Evander's city¹⁰ at the key-point of the Tiber valley. There is evidently much probability in the argument which Aeneas uses in his first diplomatic speech to Evander that Turnus is aiming at the complete conquest of central Italy from the Tuscan Sea to the Adriatic.¹¹ But the unexpected arrival of the Trojans in Italy has upset his plan. Here is a new element in the situation—very disturbing to the balance of power. Latinus no longer need rely solely on Turnus for military protection, and indeed he has actually offered Aeneas both Lavinia and part of the kingdom as a guarantee of peace between them.¹² It was not to be expected that an ambitious militarist like Turnus would allow his plans

¹ vii. 68-70 and 96 ff.

² viii. 479 ff.

³ viii. 492-3; cf. vii. 647 ff.

⁴ viii. 494-8.

⁵ viii. 498 ff.

⁶ Cf. vii. 473-4.

⁷ xiii. 22-3.

⁸ vii. 425-6.

⁹ So I interpret vii. 421 ff.

¹⁰ viii. 474; cf. viii. 146-7.

¹¹ viii. 147-9.

¹² vii. 260-73.

to be thwarted without attempting to destroy the intruder who had suddenly become his rival.¹

Virgil, following the Homeric tradition which permits the active intervention of the Gods in human affairs, invests the outbreak of this war with a special importance by making Juno appear to engineer its beginning. He imagines her as provoked beyond endurance by the persistence and hardihood of the Trojans² in opposing her will and in successfully making their way to Italy in spite of her disapproval: and so she now calls to her aid a Fury from Hell, Allecto,³ the very spirit of strife, whom she commissions to break the peace between the Trojans and Latins and embroil them in a dispute leading to bloodshed and fighting. This permitted epic device is most effectively used by Virgil: as we watch the malignant power with which Allecto works on the passions⁴ of men and women so that they forget reason and sanity and human kindness and are utterly possessed by the lust of war, she seems to embody that spirit of destructive nihilism which in one aspect or another is manifest at some time in most wars. Even Juno is appalled; and in fear of what the Omnipotent Father may do to the disturbers of his world, she sends the Fury back to nether darkness.⁵

In his account of the war, Virgil makes the action proceed on two interconnected planes, the earthly and the heavenly. On the heavenly plane it is known how much for the future of Italy depends on Aeneas' success: on the earthly plane the actors are so absorbed in the immediate duties and problems of the war, that only occasionally do they catch hints of the future, partially interpreted and partially understood. The intervention of the heavenly partisans is not impulsive and intimate as it was in Homer: it is the serious and deliberate participation of far-sighted powers who seek to forward or retard⁶ political ends which are related to one climax only—the destiny of Rome. For it is Virgil's theme in his epic that the Roman State and, above all, the Empire of Augustus have been brought about by

¹ Cf. vii. 467 ff.

² vii. 308 ff.

³ vii. 323 ff.

⁴ Cf. vii. 545 ff.

⁵ vii. 552 ff.

⁶ vii. 315: (Juno speaks) *at trahere atque moras tantis licet addere rebus.*
Cf. viii. 398-9; x. 622 ff., and xii. 803-6.

the will and care of Heaven, exercised not only in the centuries of its record growth and development, but also in its remote legendary beginnings. And therefore, while the appearance of the Gods serves superficially in the poem to give interest and variety to the scene, there is always a far deeper and more serious reason for the interaction between the heavenly and earthly spheres. Juno may be said to intervene because in Homer she was affronted by the judgement of Paris¹ and so was unfriendly to Troy and all Trojans: but now she has in mind the future danger to her new city of Carthage.² Venus may be said to intervene because Aeneas is her son: but she is really concerned for the Julian gens which will be her greatest glory.³ Jupiter, who in the *Aeneid* is an infinitely patient and tolerant deity, intervenes seldom and then only to check opposition that is presuming too far on his good-nature: but his will, never despotic, never pompous, is nevertheless immutably set⁴ to establish the Rome of Augustus as the greatest power on earth for the government and peace and well-being of mankind. That is why this war between Aeneas and Turnus, viewed from the heavenly plane, takes on a significance and importance immeasurably greater than its human appearance. But, if we view Turnus on the earthly plane only, he had sufficient excuse for his attitude to the Trojans and to Latinus. Contrary to his expectation Lavinia had been promised to Aeneas: and with the loss of Lavinia, he had also lost the chance of doubling his kingdom. So he has a good human cause for taking action. The action he does take is characteristically military: he mobilizes the Rutulian army and marches into Latium with the intention of coercing Latinus, annulling the alliance, and ridding Italy of its foreign intruders.⁵ He thus makes the first movement towards war and is the first to break the peace.

Meanwhile in Latium an incident had occurred,⁶ trivial in itself and capable of adjustment, but having the unfortunate result of antagonizing the Latins and Trojans.⁷ The trouble was that Ascanius, out hunting, had shot a stag which proved to be

¹ i. 25-8.

² i. 19 ff.

³ Cf. i. 288.

⁴ Cf. i. 257 ff.

⁵ vii. 467-70.

⁶ vii. 477 ff.

⁷ vii. 481-2.

a household pet of Latinus' chief herdsman ; and, I suppose, annoyance leading to anger and anger to blows, a fight followed in which men from both sides were killed. When the countrymen complained to the king, Turnus had arrived from Ardea and we see him¹ (in a change of plan) going about in the crowd and working on their feelings and tempers by insinuating that these same Trojan marauders were to be the new rulers of the kingdom and that no native Italian would have any chance against them. There follows one of the most vivid and arresting descriptions in the *Aeneid*—of how the mob threw over restraint and, in spite of the king's protests, insisted on an immediate declaration of war.² The war-frenzy spread from the city to the country and into the neighbouring states,³ until all normal work was suspended and the people abandoned themselves to a frantic preparation of armaments. Finally we are shown the contingents from the various states massing at Laurentum to form a united army under the supreme leadership of Turnus.⁴ This is the threat that confronts Aeneas and his small company of Trojans at the end of Book Seven.

I have analysed at some length the situation disclosed in this Book, because I believe that the method Virgil uses in its construction shows artistic talent of a kind I should call dramatic rather than epic ; and I think that a similar analysis would show a similar kind of construction in other books too. Here in Book Seven, the prospect at first seems most favourable for Aeneas ; but, after the intervention of Juno, almost in a moment he is faced with ruin. By a sudden, unexpected turn his promising fortune has vanished, and again he and his followers seem to be homeless and friendless exiles, just as they were at the opening of the epic. Come now to the beginning of Book Eight. We are there given a remarkable picture of Aeneas' mental conflict,⁵ in the famous simile where the agitation of his mind is compared with the reflections that flicker and shimmer on the surface of water. The appearance of irresolution in Aeneas is Virgil's dramatic way of showing the man's perfectly normal human

¹ vii. 577-9.

² vii. 582 ff.

³ vii. 623 ff.

⁴ vii. 647 ff.

⁵ viii. 22-5.

reaction to the change of fortune and the host of troubles in which he was suddenly involved ; and further, it is a necessary prelude to the Book, since it dramatically stresses the contrast with the sequel—where the threat of ruin will be averted and the hopes of Aeneas will be raised by the assurances of the river-god,¹ the friendship of Evander,² the chance of winning the Etruscans as allies,³ and the marvellously timed⁴ gift of the shield engraved with scenes from Roman history⁵ which would be meaningless apart from Aeneas' victory in the coming war against Turnus. And the reader's feelings, which were meant to be moved to pity for Aeneas at the beginning of the book, are correspondingly reassured and braced as he is seen to have won clear from the earlier dangers. The sympathy created by these contrasts gives Aeneas a much greater human significance ; and Virgil's use of dramatic presentation is much more effective and moving than any straight narrative of events.

I do not intend, in this paper, to deal with the actual methods of warfare used by the warriors in the *Aeneid*. Really the whole business is very primitive and, with few variations, resolves itself into a single formula of challenging, baiting, hammering, wounding, killing, and taking of spoils. It is true that, in Book Eleven,⁶ Turnus does attempt a rudimentary form of surprise in the shape of an ambush which looks like the primeval model of Hannibal's strategy at Lake Trasimene. But in these battles of the heroic age there is little need for strategic planning : it is physical strength and hard hitting that count, whether the combatants fight on foot, or horseback, or from chariots ; and frankly I always find the descriptions both tedious and gruesome. I say gruesome, because Virgil, like Homer before him, has diversified the casualty-lists by adding much anatomical detail ; and though this may have interested ancient readers, it is repugnant to modern sentiment. What does appeal to a modern reader is Virgil's humanity and pity for the fallen. Few of these doomed combatants are treated by him as nonentities. They may make only a momentary appearance on his stage, but to him they are

¹ viii. 36 ff.

² viii. 154 ff.

³ viii. 475 ff.

⁴ Cf. viii. 532-6.

⁵ viii. 626 ff.

⁶ xi. 511-16.

named individuals with a personal history and personal traits, and he has a sympathetic feeling for their fortune, predicament, and fate. This is specially notable in his treatment of the young men, and not only of young men like Nisus and Euryalus who form the subject of a major episode in Book Nine, but of many others who have left their homes and families and cities and have come to the war inspired by a passion for glory—perhaps the most wasteful of all the passions in war—and are destined to be killed, some gloriously (as they reckon it) by the hand of Turnus or Aeneas, others ignominiously by a chance arrow or spear never intended for them. Virgil is conscious of the pathetic futility of it all—that war seems to be the only outlet for their energies and the only opportunity they have for distinguishing themselves, and that they count life well lost for the gain of renown,¹ and that the renown is all the greater in proportion to the fame of their killer. It is amazing to see the particularity of care with which our poet raises over so many of them a memorial inscribed with a personal and distinctive record of their existence, to save them, as it were, from anonymous and obliterating nothingness. His feelings too are touched deeply by the sorrow of bereaved parents: over and over again he mentions the heart-ache and grief of mothers in wartime;² and there are no more touching passages in Roman literature than the lament of the old Trojan mother over her son Euryalus³ or of King Evander over the body of his only son Pallas.⁴ Even the tyrant Mezentius is saved from utter reprobation by the depth of grief with which Virgil, always so humanly just to his characters, makes him mourn for his son and welcome the death that will re-unite them.⁵ The same is true of Turnus. Virgil at the end does not make him repent (that would have been out of character and artistically wrong), but he shows him facing death with a courage of spirit that acknowledges the fairness of what befalls him,⁶ and is willing to pay the price; and this is much more impressive than his earlier self-confidence and defiance.

¹ Cf. xii. 49: *letum . . . pro laude pacisci.*

² Cf. viii. 556-7; ix. 284 ff.; xi. 215 ff.; xi. 877-8.

³ ix. 481 ff.

⁴ xi. 152 ff.

⁵ x. 846 ff.

⁶ xii. 931: *equidem merui nec deprecor.*

The actual course of the war is extremely simple in its main outline: it has four distinct phases, corresponding to the separate actions of Books Nine to Twelve. First, the Latin army advances north from Laurentum against the Trojan camp at the mouth of the Tiber: this attack occurs during Aeneas' absence on his diplomatic mission up country,¹ and it is almost successful: it marks the peak of Turnus' good fortune, and the most desperate crisis for the Trojans²—so desperate, that special envoys are sent to recall Aeneas³ and, on the heavenly plane, a special council of gods is convened to discover which of them has been secretly opposing the will of Jupiter by working against the Trojans.⁴ In the second phase the situation is retrieved. Aeneas returns by sea with an army of Etruscans,⁵ forces a landing on the beaches,⁶ and relieves the camp.⁷ The fighting here is exceedingly heavy and costly for both sides;⁸ but it ends in a Trojan victory, and Turnus' army is thrown back on Laurentum.⁹ This is the turning-point of the war, as may be seen when the third phase opens and Aeneas is found confidently assuring his commanders that the worst is over, “*maxima res effecta, viri; timor omnis abesto, / quod superest*”;¹⁰ and he outlines his plan for an offensive against Laurentum—which is, to send his cavalry to clear the maritime plain while he leads the main force by an inland hill-route.¹¹ Turnus counters by sending the Latin cavalry to the plain and by using his infantry to lay an ambush in the hills for Aeneas;¹² but his cavalry is defeated, and the news of this forces him to abandon the ambush and hurry back with his army to protect the city.¹³ The third phase ends, therefore, with another victory¹⁴ for the Trojans and the unimpeded arrival of their army before Laurentum.¹⁵ In the fourth phase, for reasons which I will mention later, it is arranged that Aeneas and Turnus will settle the issue by single combat,¹⁶ but the plan falls through and the fight becomes general again.¹⁷ Aeneas turns all his forces against the city itself¹⁸ and is breaking his way in through the

¹ ix. 8 ff.

² Cf. ix. 756-9; x. 118 ff.

³ Cf. ix. 226 ff.

⁴ x. 1-10.

⁵ x. 146-56.

⁶ x. 287 ff.

⁷ x. 604-5.

⁸ x. 755-7.

⁹ Cf. xi. 17.

¹⁰ xi. 14-15. ¹¹ xi. 446 ff., and 511-14.

¹² xi. 515-19.

¹³ xi. 896-902.

¹⁴ Cf. xii. 34: *bis magna victi pugna.*

¹⁵ xi. 904 ff.

¹⁶ xii. 161 ff.

¹⁷ xii. 282-6 and 548-53. ¹⁸ xii. 567 ff.

gates and walls,¹ when Turnus, appalled at the danger to the city, stops the fighting by offering himself for single combat,² and the war ends with his death.

Such is the basic scheme of the war : it has no more subtlety or complexity than the celebrated manoeuvres of the Grand Old Duke of York : and no strategist would commend it as a text-book design for warfare—even though Virgil has been at pains to vary the pattern by introducing not only infantry fighting but also a cavalry battle and even a form of naval operations ! But considered on the purely formal and structural side of the poem, the war was meant to fulfil, and it does fulfil, a useful function in the epic : I think something like this basic scheme must have resulted when Virgil first sketched the prose draft of his plot : it provides an adequate containing framework inside which the poet is free to arrange the material he really valued—the episodes, the personages, the descriptions, which are the main substance and pleasure of his epic. And here, in the struggle between Aeneas and Turnus, it is not so much the military part, but what I may perhaps call the *political* aspect that is interesting to a modern reader : for it is by political pressures as much as by defeats in the field that Turnus is weakened, stripped of support, and compelled to face the last personal decision ; and this touches more closely on human nature and on the emotions and passions that are perpetually present in war-time.

We have seen Turnus taking advantage of the clamour in Laurentum to seize control of the war against the Trojans. He fits in exactly with the mood of the people, and their fury exactly suits his interests. As long as he is successful, no one questions his leadership. The king has retired into the background, a pathetic old figure whom no one follows or heeds ; and the authority of Turnus is paramount. But after the battle for the Trojan encampment there is a change. As often in such cases, the despondency, resulting from the defeat and the losses, creates in the city a party friendly to the Trojans and opposed to the continuance of a struggle which now seems to be waged solely on behalf of Turnus' personal ambitions : and this

¹ xii. 654-6.

² xii. 672-80 and 693-6.

party, led by Drances a political rival of Turnus, begins an agitation for peace. Virgil has excellently contrived the development of this political situation : the elements in it are timed and co-ordinated to create a cumulative sense of the political enmity gathering against Turnus. First, Aeneas' generous reply to the request for a truce and his unexpected offer of peace-terms ;¹ then, the anguish of the bereaved citizens, skilfully used by Drances to disparage Turnus ;² next, the disappointment at Diomedes' refusal to become an ally ;³ and finally the meeting of the State Council, with the debate on the king's proposal for peace⁴ and the bitter wrangle between Turnus and Drances,⁵ Turnus posing as the champion of national independence,⁶ Drances speaking for the common citizens,⁷ the *viles animae*, "the no-account souls" (as Day Lewis translates), who are being sacrificed "a multitude unburied and unmourned, so that Turnus may marry the heiress to the throne"⁸—all this gives an intensely vivid picture of political movements and reactions during war-time in a country suddenly threatened with ruin ; and it shows the extent and depth of a feeling which later, after the defeat in the second battle, becomes so universal and overwhelming that it compels Turnus to accept the fateful necessity of settling the issue by personal combat with Aeneas.⁹ As so often in history, it is the political consequences arising from the course of the war that are decisive.

Here and there in the narrative Virgil gives a picture of that strangely indefinite being, King Latinus. He is prominent at the beginning of the war, and again towards the end. None of the major characters seems to give him credit for good intentions or good faith : he is misunderstood by Aeneas who, not knowing the situation in Laurentum, thinks him responsible for treacherously beginning the war and treacherously prolonging it ;¹⁰ and he is misunderstood by Turnus who believes that the king had wished to ally himself with the Trojans.¹¹ Latinus certainly does

¹ xi. 108 ff., and 127-32.

² xi. 213-21.

³ xi. 225 ff.

⁴ xi. 316 ff.

⁵ xi. 336 ff.

⁶ xi. 419 ff.

⁷ xi. 360-3.

⁸ xi. 371-3.

⁹ xii. 1-3 and 10-17.

¹⁰ xi. 113-14; xii. 580-2.

¹¹ Cf. vii. 470 : *se satis ambobus Teucrisque venire Latinisque.*

not impress us as a strong figure : he evidently cannot control the war-party of Queen Amata :¹ and in the crisis leading to the war he tended to wring his hands and retire.² But he is an old man, overtaken by an unexpected emergency in the affairs of his kingdom, troubled in his conscience by the virtual promise of his daughter to his kinsman Turnus,³ and unable to reconcile this promise with the revealed purpose of Heaven and the obedience to it which his religious duty required.⁴ He deplores what he knows to be the wicked folly of his people in rushing into the war :⁵ he pities them for the inevitable nemesis and repentance :⁶ but he can do nothing to dissuade or prevent them ; even his refusal to take part in the ceremony of opening the Gates of War is only a symbolic gesture of disapprobation.⁷ At every appearance later in the poem he blames himself for not taking a stronger line and for not having had the courage to make Aeneas his son-in-law at once.⁸ After the defeats he uses each opportunity to press for a settlement ;⁹ and he is willing to divide his kingdom with the Trojans¹⁰ if that will help to get rid of war and restore peace. Nothing could be kindlier or more fatherlike and tactful than the talk he has with the intransigent Turnus in Book Twelve,¹¹ when he appeals to him to recognize the military and political and religious facts of the situation and so enable an old friend and wellwisher like himself to save the life of his young kinsman. But everything goes wrong for Latinus : Turnus is obdurate :¹² the treaty so solemnly ratified is broken :¹³ Aeneas indignantly blames Latinus for breaking it :¹⁴ the queen takes her own life :¹⁵ and the old king appears as a pitiable figure of tragedy, broken by a train of events which he was powerless to hinder or avert or control :

it scissa veste Latinus
coniugis attonitus fatis urbisque ruina,
canitiem immundo perfusam pulvere turpans.¹⁶

The character grows in humanity and in appeal, as the poem moves to its conclusion. He is not just the typical king or tyrant.

¹ vii. 580 ff.

² vii. 593 ff.

³ Cf. vii. 366.

⁴ Cf. xii. 27-31.

⁵ vii. 583-4.

⁶ vii. 595.

⁷ vii. 616-19.

⁸ Cf. xi. 471-2 ; xii. 31.

⁹ xi. 316 ff. ; xii. 195 ff.

¹⁰ xi. 322.

¹¹ xii. 19 ff.

¹² xii. 45 ff.

¹³ xii. 257 ff.

¹⁴ xii. 580 ff.

¹⁵ xii. 595 ff.

¹⁶ xii. 609-11.

Everything he does has significance in adding to our judgement of him: and in the end he has a strong claim on our sympathy as a war victim, a worthy and well-meaning man who, at the close of a peaceful and good life, is involved undeservedly in the turmoil of war and in the sorrow which war brings both to himself and to his people. Virgil depicts him without comment: he draws no lesson and points no moral. War is a stern and cruel business, with which only the strong can cope; and the meek and good often suffer accordingly. That, I suppose, is the meaning of *Latinus*.

I return to where I began. If war is not properly an end in itself, but a means towards an end which is peace, then the war of Aeneas in Latium seems to fulfil Aristotle's precept. He fought it at first to win safety (which is right and honourable) and then to win peace (which is best). Virgil does not describe his victory as a brilliant conquest: Aeneas is no Alexander or Pyrrhus—that was more the type of his counterpart, Turnus. But Aeneas' aim was the creation of a stable peace that would keep the conquered (no longer to be regarded as conquered) in the firm bond of an equitable and enduring union—as he says himself:

paribus se legibus ambae
*invictae gentes aeterna in foedera mittant.*¹

Is it fanciful to see in this prehistoric beginning a characteristically Roman attitude to war? to see in it the germ of that continuous policy of law and peace so peculiar to the Romans throughout their history?

¹ xii. 190-1.

FLAUBERT AND THE LEGEND OF SAINT JULIAN

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*ET voilà l'histoire de saint Julien l'Hospitalier, telle à peu près
qu'on la trouve, sur un vitrail d'église, dans mon pays.*

With these words Flaubert concludes his *Légende de saint Julien l'Hospitalier*, the second of the three stories which he published in 1877 under the title of *Trois contes*. The *vitrail d'église* to which he refers is a window in the north transept of Rouen cathedral representing scenes from the legendary life of St. Julian, the patron saint of travellers. But the reference should not be taken literally. We have it on the authority of the *Journal des Goncourt* that Flaubert's publisher, Charpentier,¹ once asked him whether he really wanted a reproduction of the window to appear in the book, considering that he had on occasion disclaimed any indebtedness to it. "I want it, certainly", he replied, "precisely because it has no connection with the story."

Literary documents were of greater value to him than the most authentic iconographical material, and one such document was a book on glass-painting published in Rouen in 1832 by a well-known local artist and archaeologist, Eustache-Hyacinthe Langlois.² The book must have attracted Flaubert's attention in the days when, as a pupil at the Collège de Rouen, he was fascinated by history and mythology,³ for it contained, in addition to an engraving and a description of the cathedral window, an account of the legend of St. Julian based on Jacobus à Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*.⁴ But it is not certain that he made any extensive

¹ *Le Journal des Goncourt*, vi (Paris, 1892), Charpentier, 76.

² *Essai historique et descriptif sur la peinture sur verre . . . et sur les vitraux les plus remarquables.*

³ Cf. his letter to Ernest Chevalier of 24 June 1837.

⁴ The year 1260 seems to be the most probable *terminus ad quem* for its composition, but it did not acquire its traditional title until much later. An almost identical account of the legend of St. Julian occurs in the *Speculum Historiale* by Vincent de Beauvais and in *Gesta Romanorum*.

use of this account. Langlois told the story exactly as he had found it, adding nothing except some stylistic ornaments of a kind that Flaubert must have strongly resented,¹ and to ascertain how much of the legend was accessible to Flaubert and was likely to appeal to him in the early stages of his work it is enough to read the *Golden Legend* itself, either in the original Latin or in Jean de Vignay's French translation. For my present purpose it will suffice to reproduce in modern spelling Caxton's rendering published in 1483. It is "drawn from" Jean de Vignay and is remarkably close both to the Latin and to the French :

Another Julyen there was that slew his father and mother by ignorance. And this man was noble and young, and gladly went for to hunt. And one time among all other he found a hart which returned toward him and said to him, "Thou huntest me that shall slay thy father and mother". Hereof was he much abashed and afeared, and for dread that it should not happen to him that the hart had said to him he went privily away, that no man knew thereof, and found a prince, noble and great, to whom he put him in service. And he proved so well in battle and in services in his palace that he was so much in the prince's grace that he made him knight and gave to him a rich widow of a castle, and for his dowry he received the castle. And when his father and mother knew that he was thus gone they put them in the way for to seek him in many places. And so long they went till they came to the castle where he dwelled, but then he was gone out, and they found his wife. And when she saw them she enquired diligently who they were, and when they had said and recounted what was happened of their son she knew verily that they were the father and mother of her husband, and received them much charitably, and gave to them her own bed and made another for herself. And on the morn the wife of Julyen went to the church, and her husband came home while she was at church, and entered into his chamber for to awake his wife. And he saw twain in his bed, and had wende that it had been a man that had laid with his wife, and slew them both with his sword, and after went out and saw his wife coming from church. Then he was much abashed and demanded of his wife who they were that lay in his bed. Then she said that they were his father and his mother which had long sought him, and she had laid them in his bed. Then he swooned, and was almost dead, and began to weep bitterly, and cry :

"Alas ! caitif that I am ! What shall I do that have slain my father and mother ? Now it is happened, that I supposed to have eschewed ! "

And said to his wife,

"Adieu and farewell, my right dear love ! I shall never rest till that I shall have knowledge if God will pardon and forgive me this that I have done, and that I shall have worthy penance therefor."

¹ Here is his description of the murder scene : "Oh douleur ! Oh cruelle méprise ! Il se croit trahi par un criminel adultére. Transporté de fureur, il ne délibère pas, tire sa funeste épée et, sans rompre le silence, fait passer de leur paisible sommeil à celui de l'éternité les déplorables auteurs de ses jours."

And she answered,

" Right dear love, God forbid that you should go without me ! Like as I have had joy with you, so will I have pain and heaviness."

Then departed they and went till they came to a great river over which much folk passed, where they edified an hospital much great for to harbour poor people and there do their penance in bearing men over that would pass.

After long time Saint Julen slept about midnight sore travailed and it was frorn and much cold, and he heard a voice lamenting and crying that said :

" Julien, come and help us over ! "

And anon he arose and went over and found one almost dead for cold, and anon he took him and bore him to the fire, and did great labour to chafe and warm him. And when he saw that he could not be chafed nor warmed he bore him into his bed and covered him the best wise he might. And anon after, he that was so sick and appeared as he had been a mesel,¹ he saw all shining ascending to heaven, and said to Saint Julen, his host :

" Julien, Our Lord hath sent me to thee, and sendeth thee word that He hath accepted thy penance."

And a while after Saint Julen and his wife rendered unto God their souls and departed out of this world.

The first thing that one notices about this narrative is the emphasis on Julian's penance and on his rise to sainthood. The story is concerned not with the causes but with the consequences of Julian's crime. In a life of a saint it could not be otherwise. But one may well imagine that a novelist approaching the same theme would feel, as no doubt Flaubert felt, that in this instance the author of the *Golden Legend* had failed to supply the essential constituent element of a work of fiction, namely the means of leading up to the central episode of the tale. How indeed was this episode to carry conviction ? Even if it were made plain that the catastrophe was caused by the operation of forces beyond human control or understanding, no novelist could refrain from dwelling upon its antecedents. Emma Bovary's tragic end may well be pre-determined, and Charles Bovary may express Flaubert's own mind when he says : *c'est la faute de la fatalité* ; for all that, in *Madame Bovary* as in all such forms of tragic art the forces of destiny are brought into play, or at least appear to be brought into play, by something inherent in the character : something which sets in motion the machinery of destiny and so supplies, if not the genuine, at least the ostensible starting point of the tragic sequence of events. When Flaubert first

¹ = a leper.

began to think of the legend of St. Julian there was nothing in the books he had read that could suggest such an approach to its central theme ; and there is evidence to show that it took him many years to discover how this theme was to be handled, and perhaps even to decide whether it could be handled at all.

We know from the memoirs of Maxime Du Camp that as early as 1846 Flaubert thought of writing a story about St. Julian.¹ Ten years later, on 1 June 1856, he refers to St. Julian in a letter addressed to Louis Bouilhet and says : “ I am still preparing my legend and correcting *St. Antoine*. ”² Then for about nineteen years no more is heard of it. But when in September 1875, tired of struggling with a novel which he never finished—*Bouvard et Pécuchet*—Flaubert went to Concarneau for a holiday, his thoughts returned to Saint Julian. At the end of September he wrote to his niece : “ I can assure you that I am being very reasonable. I have even started writing something short. In the last three days I have written half a page of the plan of the legend of *Saint Julien l'Hospitalier*. . . . I want to force myself to write it. I shall write it as a penance with the sole purpose of seeing what comes of it.”³ A week later—on 2 October—he writes to Edmond Laporte : “ Next week I am going to start on a short story just to see if I am still capable of writing as much as a sentence. To be quite honest, I doubt it. I think I told you about *St. Julien l'Hospitalier*. It is just this that I want to write. Not that it amounts to much ; in fact it is of no importance.” Similar remarks occur in a letter written the next day to Madame des Genettes. The subject clearly fascinates him, but throughout his stay at Concarneau he seems to struggle unsuccessfully with some initial difficulties. When early in November 1875 he decides to go to Paris the story is barely begun. From Paris he writes to George Sand :⁴ “ You know that I have abandoned my big novel to write a mediaeval trifle (*une petite bêtise moyenâgeuse*) which will not exceed 30 pages.” This was on 11 December 1875. Then, quite unexpectedly, on 18 February

¹ *Souvenirs littéraires*, i (Paris, 1883), 325.

² Gustave Flaubert, *Œuvres complètes illustrées, édition du centenaire*, Paris (Librairie de France), 1928, *Correspondance*, ii, 18-19.

³ Op. cit. *Correspondance*, iii, 224.

⁴ Ibid. p. 234.

1876, he writes again to George Sand, saying, "I finished my short story last night". The story was published a year later in a volume containing two other stories of approximately the same length, *Un cœur simple* and *Hériodias*. The collection was the last of Flaubert's works to be published in his lifetime.

The implications of this curious sequence of events are worth considering. In the middle of writing the most difficult of his works—*Bouvard et Pécuchet*—Flaubert decides to put it on one side and devote himself to a comparatively modest task. He goes to Concarneau trying to forget for a moment all about *Bouvard et Pécuchet*, and for someone like Flaubert the way to do this is to write something else. But the cure proves no less troublesome than the disease. We can picture Flaubert vainly struggling with his self-imposed task in his voluntary exile. According to his letter of 7 October,¹ a fortnight after completing half a page of the plan he writes about one page of the story itself. Another ten days go by and he admits that "Saint Julien has hardly advanced at all", adding that he would probably need some books on the Middle Ages: *ce n'est pas commode à écrire, cette histoire-là.*² Four days later, on 21 October, there is another cry of despair: "Saint Julien is not making much progress."³ And then suddenly, after his arrival in Paris, he settles down to it and writes it from beginning to end in a matter of two months—a remarkable record if we are to believe his own account of how long it usually took him to write a single page. All his biographers say that in December 1875 and in January 1876 he spent a good deal of time reading books on the Middle Ages and especially books on the art of hunting. But Maxime Du Camp asserts⁴ that although Flaubert went to the Bibliothèque Nationale and studied various treatises on hunting from Phœbus and Du Fouilloux to Baudrillart's *Dictionnaire des Chasses*, these works were of no real use to him. How, then, are we to account for this unusual quickening of pace?

It might be better not to account for it at all and leave the mystery unsolved. But even if no solution is attempted the issue can be substantially clarified. There is one piece of

¹ Op. cit. *Correspondance*, iii, p. 228.

² Ibid. p. 229.

³ Ibid. p. 230.

⁴ *Souvenirs littéraires*, i, 237.

evidence which students of Flaubert have until now completely ignored, and that is the existence of a medieval—probably late thirteenth century—version of the legend of Saint Julian, a version considerably more developed than the ones which Flaubert is supposed to have known.¹ It exists in two forms: an octosyllabic poem and a prose tale, neither of which was available in print in Flaubert's time. The poem was published in 1899 by Adolf Tobler, and the prose tale in 1901 by Rudolf Tobler, both in the not easily accessible *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*.² The Bibliothèque Nationale has four manuscripts of the thirteenth century prose tale,³ and there is good internal evidence to show that Flaubert saw and used at least one of them.⁴ Occasionally we can even see how he struggled with Old French. At the beginning of his story he says that when Julian was seven years old his mother taught him to sing. The Old French text says: *quant li enfes ot passé VII. ans si fu molt grans de son eage et ama deduit de chiens et d'oisiaus*. Here Flaubert seems to have deciphered everything correctly except the word *chien*. Remark “sa mère lui apprit à chanter”

¹ The present-day view of Flaubert's treatment of the legend is stated in René Dumesnil's Introduction to his edition of *Trois contes* (Paris, “Belles Lettres”, 1936). Earlier studies include an essay by Marcel Schwob (*Œuvres*, 1896, vol. iv, 157-83) and an article by Gédéon Huet (*Mercure France* 1-er juillet 1913).

² *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen*, LIII. Jahrgang, CII. Band, 109-78; LV. Jahrgang, CVII. Band, 79-102. Flaubert's critics have so far virtually ignored these publications. Adolf Tobler writing about Flaubert in vol. 101 of the *Archiv* (99-110) said little of importance about Flaubert's sources and completely failed to notice the link between *Saint Julian* and the prose tale, no doubt because at that time the latter was still unpublished. The first critic to discover this link was Miss Sheila M. Smith in a typewritten thesis submitted for the Degree of Master of Arts in the University of Manchester (*Les Sources de la Légende de saint Julien l' Hospitalier de Flaubert*, 1944). I take this opportunity of acknowledging my debt to her thoughtful and scholarly investigation which puts the whole of the critical literature on *St. Julian* out of date. Even so distinguished a mediævalist as the late Albert Pauphilet referred to the Latin version as “l'état le plus parfait où la légende soit parvenue avant Flaubert; en d'autres termes, la source, le modèle” (Flaubert: *La Légende de St. Julian l'Hospitalier*, “Les Cours de la Sorbonne,” Tournier et Courtants, “Cours professé en 1936”).

³ MSS. B.N. fr. 987, 1546, 6447 and 23112. There are three other manuscripts on record: in Lyons, in Tours and in Alençon.

⁴ Probably MS. B.N. fr. 6447.

is by no means inappropriate ; but it suggests that he mistook the words *deduit de chiens et d'oisiaus* for *deduit du chant d'oiseaux*. A still more curious misreading brings into his text a reference to shells. When Julian and his wife leave their castle to do penance they live like beggars, and eat, according to the Old French version, anything they can pick in the forest and from the bushes by the roadside. The Old French word for "gathering," "picking up", is *conqueuillir*. In Flaubert Julian picks up shells—*coquillages*—no doubt because in the corresponding place in the Old French manuscript Flaubert saw a word which looked very like *coquillages*—*conquilloeint*.¹ Not all his errors are quite as blatant. He translates word for word the description of the burial of Julian's parents as given in the Old French : *et les porterent au moustier et les enfouirent a grant honor* ; but whereas *moustier* has here the usual Old French meaning of "church",² he writes : "On enterra les morts avec magnificence dans l'église d'un monastère." He obviously thought the *moustier* could only mean monastery as in Modern French. On the whole, however, he understood the Old French text remarkably well and it is interesting to see how every now and then he combined what he had found in it with the version of the *Golden Legend*. Both in Flaubert and in the medieval prose tale it is Christ himself who appears in the guise of a leper ; he asks first for food, then for drink, and Julian having given him all he has, lies down with the stranger to keep him warm. In the prose tale the leper then vanishes, and Julian hears a voice saying, "I am Christ from whose sight nothing is hidden, and for your great goodness and your faith in your Lord your sin of homicide is forgiven".³ In the *Golden Legend* and in all the other versions which had appeared in print in Flaubert's time the leper is not Christ, but a messenger from heaven. Julian sees him "all shining ascending to heaven" and hears

¹ MS. B.N. fr. 6447, fol. 217, 2^{ro} col. 1: *et autres fruis ke il conquilloient par les buissons*. Both these errors have been noticed by Miss S. M. Smith (*op. cit.* pp. 29 and 39).

² Cf. *Chanson de Roland*, line 1750 ; S. M. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

³ MS. B.N. fr. 6447, fol. 218 v^o col. 1 : "Je suis Cris vers cui nule cose n'est couverte. Por la grant merite et por la foi de ton Signor vos est pardonés li pechiés de l'omecide ke vos feistes." Jesus is speaking here to Julian and his wife.

him say : " Julian, Our Lord hath sent me to thee, and sendeth thee word that He hath accepted thy penance." Flaubert welds these two visions into one : " the leper clasped Julian closely and his eyes shone like stars ; his hair lengthened into sunbeams . . . an abundance of bliss, a superhuman joy filled the soul of Julian while he who lay beside him grew and grew until his head and his feet touched the walls. The roof disappeared, disclosing the heavens, and Julian ascended into infinity face to face with Our Lord Jesus Christ who bore him in his arms."

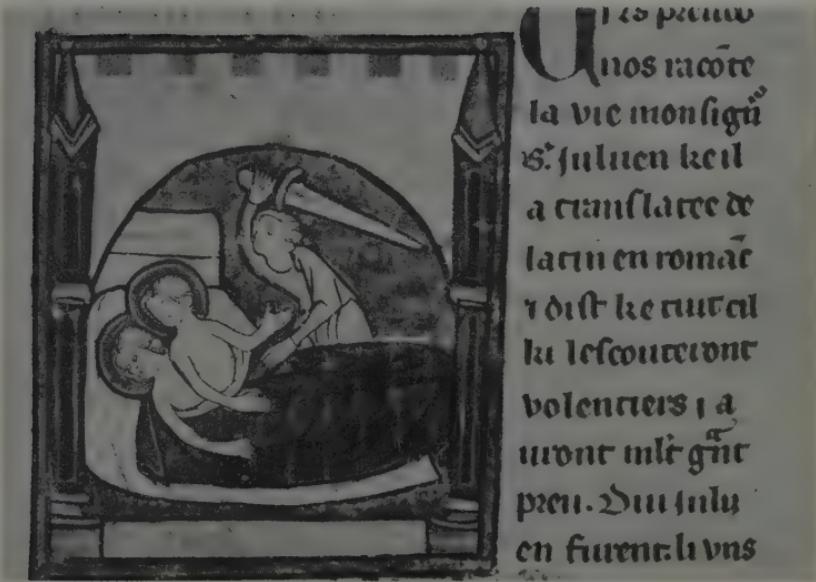
There are many other similar indications of Flaubert's familiarity with the Old French prose tale.¹ What matters most, however, is not that he borrowed certain details from it, but that he found in it something which facilitated his approach to his task and helped him to evolve his own conception of the story. The legend of St. Julian as he knew it before November 1875 attracted him, but failed to inspire him ; or at any rate it failed to suggest to him a suitable method of handling the story. When he wrote *Madame Bovary* he often talked about his subject with a kind of exasperated spite, hating it and reviling it at times ; but he never found anything in it to disturb or to distract him in his effort to write it out to his satisfaction. Through the long years in which phrase was being added to phrase, through all the torment which it cost him to fashion his language, there was no question of struggling with a theme that he had not entirely mastered, of " holding it down with one hand while writing with the other."² With the story of Julian as told in the *Golden Legend* and as represented on the stained glass window in Rouen cathedral he was much less at ease. The story was " une petite bêtise moyenâgeuse ", a bare sequence of fortuitous events demonstrating the power of destiny, but devoid of human

¹ A complete list of their common features would exceed the limits of this essay. Suffice it to mention that parallel incidents occur throughout the story and that verbal agreements are not infrequent. Here are two striking examples : " ala tant par la glace et par plueve ke sa char devint toute noire " becomes in Flaubert's text : *le vent tanna sa peau* ; Flaubert's *elle les coucha elle-même dans son lit, puis ferma la croisée* ; *ils s'endormirent* is modelled on " *ele les couce et cuevre molt bien et puis ist de la cambre et clos l'uis* ; *cil sont maintenant endormi.*" Cf. S. M. Smith, op. cit. pp. 32 and 36.

² Cf. Percy Lubbock, *The Craft of Fiction*, London, 1929 (The Traveller's Library), 61.

interest. And it seems legitimate to conjecture that it did not begin to take shape in his mind until he had seen the prose tale in a manuscript in Paris.

There is a symbolic significance in Flaubert's encounter with the anonymous author of the thirteenth-century tale. The thirteenth century was the time when in the sphere of fiction a vast traditional material was subjected to the scrutinizing minds of innumerable *remanieurs* eager to refashion it in accordance with new aesthetic principles. The voluminous prose romances of that period were not mere compilations of unco-ordinated fragments of narrative; they were reflections of a steadily growing tendency to convey more convincingly and more coherently what earlier writers were content to state as fact. The prose tale dealing with the life of St. Julian is one of a great number of works in which this tendency is apparent. The prose writer is not concerned with a mere chronicle of events, and Julian's misfortune is to him something more than an accident that could happen at any time and under any circumstances. It springs from a complex situation, and is brought about by a certain arrangement of the narrative which is by no means haphazard. Julian is a typical medieval nobleman, the son of the Count of Anjou. Before he is born his mother, the Countess of Anjou, has a prophetic and terrifying dream: she dreams that she has given birth to an animal with human features which devours both herself and her husband. Throughout the years of Julian's childhood (he is a handsome boy with fair hair and everybody admires and loves him) the memory of this dream haunts her. Like any young nobleman, Julian learns the art of hunting; but soon his passion for it becomes irresistible. He will not let a day pass without going into the woods with his dogs. These are, then, in the medieval prose tale, the two premises of the story: the prophetic dream and Julian's excessive enthusiasm for a noble sport; two antecedents of his crime, one supernatural, the other natural. But in Julian's case the enjoyment of hunting, however natural, is carried to excess. One day his companions told him he had been out hunting long enough, for both men and dogs were weary. Julian, however, refused to turn back and said to them: "Go and leave me. I do not



(MS. B. N. fr. 6447, f. 211 r° col. 2)

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wish to return yet. I shall seek more adventures in the forest." And so he took his bow and went. A few of them followed him, but were soon left far behind. When Julian was alone he came upon an animal in a deep thicket. He went round the thicket to see how best to aim at it, but as he approached, the animal cried out and said, "Child, kill me not. I shall tell you your destiny. You will, with a single stroke, kill your father and mother." When Julian heard this he withheld his arrow, but after a moment stretched his bow and was about to shoot when the animal cried out again, repeating the same words. Amazed and frightened though he was, Julian took aim, and once more the animal said: "Child, kill me not, for I tell you truly, with one stroke you will kill your father and mother, and wherever you go no one but God can prevent this happening." Trembling with terror, Julian smashed his bow and his arrows and said, "Vile beast, you have told a lie". And he swore never to go to any place where he might find his father and mother.¹

How different this is from the traditional *Golden Legend* story, where we are merely told that Julian was "noble and young and gladly went for to hunt"—presumably no more than any other young nobleman—and that "one time among other" he met a stag who turned towards him and spoke in a human voice.² Even in the thirteenth century poem about St. Julian, which chronologically stands between the *Golden Legend* and the prose tale,³ we do not find the theme of Julian's unreasonable passion for hunting. His encounter with the supernatural animal occurs

¹ MS. B.N. fr. 6447, fol. 211 v^o col. 2: "Quant li enfes oï çou, si tresua d'angoisse et prist son arc et ses saiettes, si les brisa et dist: Pute best, tu as menti de quan que tu as dit, car je n'irai ja mais en leu u mon pere ne ma mere soit. Et puis desrompi ses cevels et detort ses poins, et puis dist: Deus, u est la mors, ke ne me prent ele ançois ke ce aveigne!"

² The stained glass window in Rouen cathedral contains no representation of hunting scenes or indeed of any event of Julian's life prior to his voluntary exile.

³ The poem was an expansion of the chapter on Julian in the *Golden Legend* or in *Speculum Historiale* (with a possible intermediary in the form of a Latin verse text); the prose tale was an adaptation of the poem. Rudolf Tobler argued that because the prose tale was more cogent and attractive than the poem it must have been written first: "Wie aber die Prosalegende klarer und zugleich poetischer ist als die gereimte, so darf man wohl auch annehmen, dass sie der ursprünglichen Form der Legende näher steht" (*Archiv*, vol. 106, p. 315). The underlying assumption is characteristic of scholars of Tobler's generation. How strongly he

without any preparation, when Julian goes out hunting with his men and quite by chance finds himself alone in a thicket. It is only in the prose tale that a link is established between his behaviour and the curse laid upon him—a tenuous link, to be sure, but no more tenuous than that which is needed to give his fate an appearance of meaning. Having heard the prophecy, Julian not only destroys his bow and arrows, but discards his armour and goes on a pilgrimage to Rome, and thence to the Holy Land. After his return he sets out for Compostella, but one day he finds himself in a besieged castle where the sight of a battle tempts him to resume the life from which he had fled. He tells himself that it is wrong for the son of a count and a countess to live like a beggar. He forgets St. James and the pilgrimage, becomes a knight and henceforth thinks of nothing but deeds of arms. When the fatal moment arrives and Julian's parents come to his castle, neither the *Golden Legend* nor any modern adaptation of it explains Julian's absence. "He was gone out, and they found his wife", says Caxton. "He was accidentally (*casu*) absent from the castle", says the Latin text. Only in the versions which in Flaubert's time were not accessible in print¹ are we told that Julian was absent because he had gone out hunting and had stayed out longer than he had intended. He hunted all through the night, and it was not until late in the morning that he realized it was time for him to return home. No details of the hunt are given, but the meaning of it is clear. Julian has broken his vow. He has gone back to the way of life which had ended so abruptly with the fatal prophecy, and the renewal of that way of life brings with it the fulfilment of the prophecy. The prose writer does not say, and we must resist the temptation to read any such meaning into his words, that Julian killed

believed in it is shown by the fact that the occurrence of complete octosyllabic lines in the prose text struck him as another proof of his theory: the poet, he thought, would naturally choose as a model a text which was already partly in verse. One unmistakable piece of evidence against the priority of the prose tale is the appearance in it of Jesus Christ in place of the "messenger from heaven" (see above, p. 234, n. 3). No thirteenth-century poet could have substituted the latter for the former.

¹ He is not likely to have seen an article by Lecointe Dupont on the Alençon MS. in the *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, année 1838 (pp. 190-210)—the only printed account of the prose tale published in his lifetime.

his parents because he was intoxicated with the slaughter of innocent creatures. There is no suggestion of a *psychological* link between the killer of animals and the murderer of his own parents. The connection between them is established on a different plane from what we expect, and the whole pattern of the story is made coherent in a manner characteristic of medieval writers: not psychologically, but *structurally*, by the mere impact of parallel situations upon the reader's mind. Julian, carried away by his love of hunting, hears a terrible curse laid upon him by a hunted animal; there is a poetic, not a moral justice there, but it suffices to justify the curse, even though the retribution is so much greater than the fault. Once these two things—the enjoyment of hunting and the fatal curse—are made part of a sequence of themes, such is the force of poetic logic that Julian's tragic action can be brought about by a mere *reprise* of the theme of hunting. It is difficult for us today to understand how this is done. The method belongs to a time when even mediocre writers knew what poetic logic meant, and so could operate at a higher level of aesthetic consciousness than that which some of the finest modern novelists, preoccupied as they are with the representation of reality for its own sake, are ever likely to reach. We recognize the exclusive power of formal elements everywhere except in literature, an art upon which we make a variety of other demands, not all of them consistent with the artist's task. Let us at least remember that our theory of the art of the novel, far from being the only legitimate one, is no more than a peculiar flower of a peculiar civilization.

To discover in what way the thirteenth-century prose tale affected Flaubert's *conte* it is enough, to begin with, to realize that in both works the essential moments of action are the two episodes which have just been mentioned: the one leading to the encounter with the stag, and the other immediately preceding the murder of Julian's parents. In Flaubert both these episodes are elaborated into long descriptions of hunting and form two parallel movements upon which the whole development of the central theme of the story is based. The first movement begins when Julian sets out one winter morning before dawn, with a bow slung across his shoulder. "Soon he came to a forest. A

woodcock sat on a branch, its head beneath its wing. Julian, with the flat of his sword, cut off its feet, and without stopping to pick it up rode away. . . . He entered an avenue of tall trees. . . . A deer sprang out of the thicket and a badger crawled out of its hole ; a stag appeared in the road, and a peacock spread its fan-shaped tail on the grass—and after Julian had slain them all, other deer, other stags, other badgers, other peacocks, and jays, blackbirds, foxes, porcupines, polecats, and lynxes appeared—a host of beasts that grew with every step he took. Trembling, and with a look of appeal in their eyes, they gathered around Julian only to be slain in their turn. . . . Presently an extraordinary sight made him pause : a deep valley filled with a great herd of deer. Huddled together, they were warming one another with the vapour of their breaths that mingled with the early mist. For a few minutes Julian stood still, breathless with joy. . . . And as his first arrow sped through the air, the deer turned their heads towards him, crowded closer, and uttered plaintive cries ; then, as Julian's arrows began to fall thick and fast, the animals, maddened with terror, climbed upon one another, their bodies forming a moving mountain, until finally it fell apart and they lay stretched out on the sand. . . . Night came, and behind the trees, through the branches, the sky appeared like a sheet of blood. And as Julian leant against a tree wondering how he had accomplished this great slaughter, he saw a large stag with a doe and a fawn. . . . He stretched his bow and instantly the fawn dropped dead, and as its mother raised her head uttering a cry of anguish Julian thrust his knife into her breast and felled her to the ground. Then the great stag sprang forward. Julian aimed his last arrow at him, and the shaft struck deep between the antlers. But the stag still advanced towards Julian as if to charge him, and Julian recoiled in horror. Presently the huge animal halted. With eyes aflame and the solemn air of a patriarch and a judge it spoke to the tolling of a distant bell : 'Accursed ! Accursed ! Accursed ! Some day, fierce heart, thou wilt murder thy father and mother.' Then the great beast sank to its knees, closed its lids, and died."

Fierce heart—cœur féroce : by these two words as by a flash of lightning Julian's fate is revealed to him—and to us.

An untold sadness comes over him, a sickening terror. For he has found within himself the cause of his impending doom, and from now onwards all that he cherished most in life becomes charged with an inescapable sense of foreboding. The adventures that follow are told with significant brevity. A few lines suffice to describe Julian's wanderings, his successes on the battlefield and his marriage to the Emperor's daughter. Julian becomes a powerful ruler, admired by the princes and nobles who owe him allegiance ; but when they beg him to go out hunting with them he refuses to yield to their entreaties, as if he feared his own violence. Then, one summer evening, as he was about to kneel in prayer, he heard the bark of a fox and a soft padding under the window. He seized his bow, left the castle grounds and walked through the forest, enjoying the velvety softness of the grass. A great stillness reigned everywhere, and he failed to see any of the beasts that a moment ago seemed to be prowling around the castle. Suddenly a body blacker than the surrounding darkness sprang from behind a tree. It was a wild boar. Julian had no time to stretch his bow. Then, at the edge of the wood, he saw a wolf and aimed an arrow at him ; the wolf paused, turned its head, and continued on its way. Presently shapes began to move in the darkness, and there came forth panting, wild-eyed hyenas : they approached Julian, sniffed at him and grinned hideously, showing their fangs. He whipped out his sword, but they disappeared in a cloud of dust. Then he thrust his lance between the dewlaps of a bull, but the weapon snapped as if the breast had been made of bronze. A weasel slid between his feet, a panther leapt over his shoulder, and a serpent coiled itself around a tree, while among the leaves a monstrous jackdaw was watching Julian intently. Fiery sparks appeared between the branches of the forest. Those were the eyes of wild cats, of squirrels, of monkeys and of parrots. Julian aimed his arrows at them all, and the arrows glanced harmlessly on the leaves of the trees ; he threw stones, and the stones fell to the ground. "And all the beasts he had pursued appeared. They formed a circle round him, some sitting on their hind-quarters, others standing at full height. Cold with terror, he took a step forward, and they all moved with him, the hyenas striding in front of him, the wolf and the wild

boar at his heels, while on one side the bull swung his head and on the other the panther, arching its back, advanced with slow, long strides. . . ." There was irony in their sly gestures. They watched him out of the corners of their eyes, and Julian, deafened by the buzzing of insects, bruised by the wings and tails of the birds, choked by the stench of animal breaths, walked with outstretched arms and closed lids like a blind man, the thirst for slaughter stirring afresh within him, a thirst that the blood of animals could no longer quench.

Only a few moments separate this vision from the scene in which Julian sees his father and mother stretched before him, with splashes of blood on their white skin and on the ivory crucifix which hangs in the alcove. He has killed them with his own dagger, having failed to recognize them in the dark and thinking that a man was lying beside his wife. The passion which raged within him as he returned to the castle, the exuberance of his own fierce heart nurtured on bloodshed and thirsting helplessly for yet another prey, has caused all this. So ends the second movement of Flaubert's tale, the more terrible in its impact because of its subtle resemblance to the first. There is between them a remarkable interplay of the real and the supernatural. Just as the stark realism of the wholesale slaughter of animals dissolves into the scene of the supernatural prophecy, so the dream-like terror of the animal world closing in upon Julian and pursuing him as if to wreak a supernatural vengeance upon him culminates in the tragic reality of his predestined crime. And the intensity of the whole sequence is such that the transition from real life to magic and from magic to real life is no more than a modulation welding the complex succession of themes into a single harmonious texture.

There is, of course, in Flaubert's *St. Julian* something more obvious and less unusual, namely the technique of a psychological novel reminiscent of *Madame Bovary*. The action, or the plot, in the type of novel of which *Madame Bovary* is an example, arises from character, and character from environment. There is no doubt that Flaubert applied this formula to the story of St. Julian as soon as he saw that the early prose writers had established a link between Julian's love of hunting and his tragic fate. He deliberately lengthened the description of Julian's

initiation into the art of hunting and while preserving the fairy-tale theme of prophecy told the story in such a way as to suggest a realistic, psychological explanation of Julian's crime : if the "fierce heart" exasperated by the miraculous hunt and thirsting for bloodshed blinds Julian to everything that might avert the tragedy it may well be because his life has made him what he is, and because the irony of life is such that the slightest flaw can bring catastrophe upon the most ordinary human beings. The tragedy of *Emma Bovary* may similarly be accounted for by a few seemingly ordinary traits of character determined by some very ordinary circumstances of life. A novel constructed in this fashion offers a wide field of inquiry both to the psychologist and to the sociologist ; it can even tempt the novelist himself to become either one or the other or sometimes both, and most of Flaubert's imitators seem to have yielded to this temptation. But we should do Flaubert a great injustice if we reduced him to the level of his would-be disciples. Even while writing *Madame Bovary* he was much less concerned with the panorama of French provincial life or with the correct analysis of the psychology of characters than with something more important which he never properly defined, but which can be deduced from practically everything he said about his novel : a certain *inner structure* of the work, which would carry conviction by virtue of its own harmony sustained by the power of language. Great tragic writers have always felt as he did that the sense of the inevitability of the disaster cannot be brought home to the reader merely by a logical presentation of causes and effects, even if supernatural causes are allowed to intervene, and this is the reason why no great tragic writer has ever been able to separate tragedy from poetry. It is because Flaubert knew this instinctively that the whole energy of his mature years was spent in an endeavour to transcend the purely dramatic and psychological conception of the novel and make it into something valid on other grounds than the art of motivating action through character. In *Madame Bovary* he certainly does not abandon one method in favour of the other ; but he already feels that it is not enough to have a chain of incidents determined by what a given character is likely to do in a given situation. Imperceptibly

to the reader, one method is laid upon the other, poetry upon drama, and the effect is one of an irresistible *movement* towards the catastrophe, of a complex contrapuntal composition which by its own momentum sweeps away all obstacles to our understanding of the heroine's tragic fate.¹ In his later works, and especially in *l'Education sentimentale*, Flaubert will depart more decisively still from the novel form as it was traditionally interpreted and as his less gifted followers have understood it ever since: he will shift the emphasis more resolutely from the dramatic to the poetical values, from the objectively discernible relationship of character and incident to the inner coherence of the work itself. And it is no mere accident that to a reader like Proust the real greatness of Flaubert is revealed much more fully in *l'Education sentimentale* than in *Madame Bovary*, for in *l'Education sentimentale*, so Proust tells us, "the revolution has been accomplished; what, up to the time of Flaubert, had been merely *action* has become *impression*."

The story of St. Julian is, on a reduced scale, the summing up of this process. On the one hand, it is, outwardly at least, a revival of the novel of action, with its careful subordination of incident to feeling and of feeling to circumstances; on the other, it is a novel of impression which depends for its effect on its own poetic medium—on the rhythm of its structure, on the inner harmony of its composition, on the incantatory power of each one of its movements. It is a far cry from *Saint Julien l'Hospitalier* to the medieval prose tale which gave it its final impetus; but the significant thing is precisely that single spark that passed between two minds separated by a gulf of six centuries. In the thirteenth-century tale there was in embryo nearly all that distinguishes a novel from a fairy tale, and nearly all that Flaubert needed to set his own angle of vision. And the magnificent spectacle of a great artist bringing to completion a task barely begun by an obscure early writer is one which at any time, regardless of all variations of taste, will be worth our understanding.

¹ He never formulated this deeper law except indirectly as when he expressed his longing for a work free from all "machinery" and containing nothing but sentences (*phrases*), beautiful sentences as free as the waves of the ocean. "Sentences" is not the appropriate term, nor for that matter is "style".

HAND-LIST OF THE BAGSHAWE MUNIMENTS DEPOSITED IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

By F. TAYLOR, M.A., PH.D.

KEEPER OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

THE Bagshaws, one of the oldest families in Derbyshire, held estates at Abney in the parish of Hope and at Ridge in Chapel-en-le-Frith from at least the fourteenth century, and later are found at, among other places, Wormhill, Litton and Hucklow in Tideswell parish, Ford in Chapel-en-le-Frith and the Oaks in Norton parish. The muniments listed below, the bulk of which were deposited in the John Rylands Library in 1950 by Major F. E. G. Bagshawe of Ford Hall,¹ are ostensibly those of the Bagshaws of Ford², but they are in fact limited neither to the Ford estates nor to the activities of the family seated there. For last century Mr. W. H. G. Bagshawe,³ who was keenly interested in the genealogical ramifications of his ancestors, endeavoured to bring together all the surviving records concerning them, and as the result of his efforts many thousands of letters and papers, relating not merely to subsidiary branches of the

¹ I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to Major Bagshawe for the interest he has kindly shown in the preparation of this list and for so readily placing at my service his knowledge of his family's history and collections. My grateful thanks are also due to Miss Glenis A. Matheson, Assistant in this Department, and Mrs. Olga R. Evans, a former Assistant. Mrs. Evans played an important part in the preliminary sorting and numbering of these muniments. To Miss Matheson I am indebted for valuable help with the final arrangement and numbering.

² The first of the family to possess the Ford estates was William Bagshawe of Abney, Litton and Hucklow (1598-1669).

³ Mr. Bagshawe, who died in 1913, was also the historian of the family, and his *The Bagshaws of Ford* (1886, privately printed) is indispensable to all who work on these muniments. See also his "The Owners of Ford Hall. From the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century" (*Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological Society*, vol. 31 (1909), pp. 167 ff.). For the building see, e.g. "Ford Hall, Chapel-en-le-Frith, and Banner Cross, near Sheffield", by W. J. Andrew and Ernest Gunson (*ibid.* pp. 139 ff.). Banner Cross, which is just over the Derbyshire border, came into the Bagshawe family through General Murray, great-uncle of W. H. G. Bagshawe.

Bagshawes but also to families directly and indirectly allied with them, were saved from destruction and incorporated in the archives at Ford Hall. It is, for example, entirely due to his interest that the Ford muniments now contain what appear to be the entire surviving archives of the Caldwells of Castle Caldwell, co. Fermanagh, a collection of some importance to the student of eighteenth century English literature.

The muniments of the Bagshawes of Ford, then, consist of two elements. Firstly, as one might expect, the archives accumulated by members of the family in the administration of their private, estate and business concerns, and, secondly, correspondence, papers and records of all kinds acquired, either singly or in large blocks, from extraneous sources by W. H. G. Bagshawe, in general because the persons or property mentioned in them had some association with the Bagshawes. As regards the former, the natural accumulation, the earliest items which occur date from the fifteenth century although the bulk of the collection is of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Bagshawes played a prominent part in local and county affairs and students of Derbyshire and Yorkshire history, as well as the economic and social historian, should find much of value among the numerous household, business and estate records and, on the more personal side, in the correspondence and papers, which extend from the time of the William Bagshawe who died in 1756 to the Rev. William Bagshawe who died in 1847.¹ A considerable body of material has survived for most of the individual members in the main line and it is hardly practicable, or necessary, to comment on all of it here, even in general terms. Particular reference, however, may perhaps be made to the papers of Col. Samuel Bagshawe, who died in 1762. A Justice of the Peace for county Derby, M.P. for Tallagh, county Waterford, and Colonel of the 93rd Regiment of Foot, Samuel Bagshawe had a distinguished career as a soldier and was for some time Second in Command in the East Indies. His East India papers, contained in two large folio volumes and numbering nearly 600 items, have fortunately survived,² together

¹ This has been fixed as the closing date for the present list.

² Below 2/5-2/6.

with correspondence of his relating to the 93rd Regiment, muster rolls, returns, regimental accounts and receipts, and others of his military papers.¹ Attention may be drawn also to the letters, papers and accounts of Lord John Murray (d. 1787)² and Lt.-Gen. William Murray (d. 1818),³ both of which contain much to attract the military historian. Lord John Murray, son of the 1st Duke of Atholl, was for over forty years Colonel of the 42nd Highlanders (the Black Watch) and records concerning this regiment will also be found in the collection. A number of other documents or groups of documents also deserving of particular comment occur throughout. For example, sermons of the Rev. William Bagshawe (d. 1702), well known as "The Apostle of the Peak",⁴ of Samuel Gardiner, Prebendary of Lichfield (1666-80),⁵ and of some early Nonconformist preachers (1748-74 *passim*).⁶ The rather lengthy journals, strongly devotional in content, of Catherine Bagshawe may also be mentioned; in eleven volumes, they run from 1792 to 1826.⁷ Among the numerous accounts which occur are several dealing with eighteenth century mining, and particularly lead mining, in Derbyshire,⁸ and volumes of building accounts of the architect Sir Jeffry Wyatville,⁹ noted for his restoration work at Windsor Castle. As indicated in a recent paragraph in the Library BULLETIN,¹⁰ there is also some new material relating to Arthur Young, perhaps the greatest English writer on agriculture, and his son the Rev. Arthur Young.¹¹ Another document bears the signature of Isaac Newton.¹² The Bagshawes held certain offices

¹ 2/1-2/2, 15/2.

² 5/1-5/3. In November 1798 the Rev. William Bagshawe married Anne, sister of Lt.-Gen. William Murray of Banner Cross, who had married the Hon. Mary Murray, only daughter of Lord John Murray.

³ 6/3-6/4.

⁴ 23/1/1-2, unfortunately fragmentary.

⁵ 12/2/1.

⁶ 12/2/3.

⁷ 12/1/15. Extracts are printed in *The Bagshawes of Ford*, pp. 398 ff.

⁸ E.g. 8/3, 8/5, 12/1/59-61. Other information may be found in the correspondence, notably of the Bagshawes of the Oaks, and among the deeds (under Bradwell, Castleton, Dore, Peak Forest and Ecclesall).

⁹ 12/1/30-4. They relate to the building of Banner Cross, which he himself is said to have considered to be the finest example of his work.

¹⁰ BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, vol. 35, no. 2 (March, 1953), pp. 281-2.

¹¹ 22/6.

¹² 22/5/2.

in the Honour of Tutbury by virtue of the Tutbury Horn and a small group of records concerning this unusual tenure may also be found.¹ The deeds and muniments of title in the collection cover some twelve counties, of which Derbyshire and Yorkshire are by far the most fully represented and, within them, Bagshaw, Castleton, Chapel-en-le-Frith, Ford and Wormhill (co. Derby) and Ecclesall and Fulwood (co. York).

Of the documents added by W. H. G. Bagshawe to his muniments the most important single group is undoubtedly that concerning the Caldwells of Castle Caldwell, co. Fermanagh, a family which became allied to the Bagshaws through the marriage in 1751 of Catherine, younger daughter of the third baronet, Sir John Caldwell, with the Col. Samuel Bagshawe mentioned above. Mr. Bagshawe was greatly interested in this alliance and before Castle Caldwell was sold in 1877 he acquired the bulk of the Caldwell papers and transferred them to Ford.² Numbering between three and four thousand items and ranging in date from the time of the first baronet (Sir James, d. 1717) to that of the fifth (Sir John, d. 1830), they form an archive in themselves and exhibit the variety of records which a family of standing accumulates. The greater portion is concerned with the last two baronets, Sir James (d. 1784) and Sir John. Perhaps a word may be said here about the former, the fourth baronet. Sir James Caldwell, after a varied career abroad,³ busied himself with the political, social and economic affairs of this country and of Ireland and, in the pursuit of these interests and the advancement of his family, came into contact with many of the leading figures of his day. He corresponded, for example,

¹ 24/2/79. The Tutbury Horn, which is now at Ford Hall, after passing through the Agard, Stanhope and Foxlowe families to the Bagshaws, conveyed to its holder the offices of Feodary, Escheator, Coroner and Clerk of the Market throughout the Honour of Tutbury. For a short account see "On the Tutbury Horn" by the Rev. J. Charles Cox in *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological Society*, vol. 8 (1886), pp. 7 ff.

² They are now 3/1-3/45.

³ During which he rendered military and diplomatic services to Maria Theresa, who created him Count of Milan; he was also offered the post of Lord Chamberlain to the Empress. He served in Italy under the King of Sardinia, to whom he acted as aide-de-camp. Caldwell spent roughly six years abroad, returning to London in May 1749.

with Townshend, Shelburne, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Dr. Johnson, Dr. John Hawkesworth, Garrick and Arthur Young.¹ Apart from his political and other papers and accounts, his numerous letter-books (1745-83)² and over 1,500 of his letters³ are now among these muniments, together with twenty-five of his pamphlets⁴ and 400 letters from various correspondents to his wife.⁵

The collection has been arranged under three main headings with subsidiary sections, as follows :

1. *Correspondence and Papers.* Arranged under members of the family, with, where feasible, subdivisions according to the subject matter, e.g. family, relations, business, military, peerage, ecclesiastical. Manuscript volumes are normally included in the next section, but in the case of the Caldwell and Murray families they have been kept with their papers in order, as far as possible,⁶ to preserve these archive groups.

2. *Manuscript Volumes.* Arranged under Family and Estate (subdivided under the place of residence—Ford, Banner Cross, the Oaks—within which members of the family are dealt with in chronological order) and Miscellaneous.

3. *Deeds and Documents.* Arranged alphabetically under counties. Within each county the arrangement is chronological within an alphabetical order of places.

The general scheme of numbering will, it is hoped, be self-explanatory. Within each section the number of individual items which has survived is given, together with the relevant name and covering dates ; where a number is not given, one

¹ See Taylor, "Johnsoniana from the Bagshawe Muniments in the John Rylands Library", reprinted from the Library BULLETIN, vol. 35, no. 1 (September 1952). This article also contains (pp. 212 ff.) an outline of Sir James's career.

² 3/6-3/12.

³ 3/13-3/20.

⁴ 3/21.

⁵ 3 29-3, 32. He married, in 1753, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Josiah Hort, Archbishop of Tuam, by Elizabeth Fitzmaurice, who was sister of Mary, Countess of Shelburne and aunt of William, 2nd Earl of Shelburne, later 1st Marquess of Lansdowne.

⁶ An apparent exception (12/1/30-4) is due to the fact that these particular volumes, which run from 1817 to 1823, relate essentially to Banner Cross, not to its then owner, General Murray, who in any case died in 1818 and was succeeded by a Bagshawe.

item only may be presumed. The introduction of "a" numbers has been necessary within some groupings, as many items were received after the main deposit; this explains differences between the covering figures for certain sections and the total of individual items within them. The last block of such additions, a particularly large one, has had to be dealt with in a supplementary list (14/1-24/5) which, as far as is practicable, has been equated with the main list.

An index of persons and places has been provided; in the case of place-names cross-references have been given to the modern spelling.

I—XI. CORRESPONDENCE AND PAPERS

I. WILLIAM BAGSHAWE (d. 1756) AND HIS WIFE MARY, NÉE WINGFIELD (d. 1754)

1/1/1-737. Correspondence and papers of William Bagshawe.

Martha Ashe, wid. Rev. John Ashe (1736-46), 17; Adam Bagshawe of Wormhill (1728); Catherine Bagshawe, *née* Caldwell (1754-6), 10; Nathaniel Bagshawe of Great Rocks (1721-54), 18; Richard Bagshawe, sen., and Richard Bagshawe, jun., of the Oaks and Wormhill (1728-48), 6; Septimus Bagshawe of Kingston, Jamaica (1711-38), 8; William Bagshawe of the Inner Temple (1737-47), 12; William Bagshawe of Newchurch (1748-9), 4; George and Thomas Beaumont (1706-22), 5; Buckley Bower (1751-4), 15; Rev. James Clegg of Chinley (1748-52), 9; Samuel Evatt (1751-6), 10; Thomas Eyre (1731-4), 10; Henry Gill (1706), 2; John Hood (1740-54), 70; Avery Jebb (1748), 2; J. Mills (c. 1740-1), 41; Ann Naylor, *née* Child (1710); Rev. James Naylor (1694-1708), 2; Quintus Naylor (1718-21), 3; Naylor descendants (1750-6), 15; Edward Norris (1736-41), 8; Frances Peters (1735-49), 13; James Sherratt (1707-9), 5; Francis Sitwell (1727-40), 14; Richard Slater (1736-49), 15; William Wildman (1725-40), 67; Mary Wingfield, later w. William Bagshawe (1726-46), 66; T. Worthington (1748-52), 11; T. Wright (1724-46), 16; Timothy Wyld (1745-55), 28; correspondence relating to Manchester—Ashton-under-Lyne Turnpike Road (1746-52), 7; miscellaneous letters (1703-56), 57; miscellaneous papers, incl. papers respecting the Ford estate (16) and a Chancery suit, Wingfield and Bagshawe, plaintiffs, *v.* Newton and others, defendants (22), 52; bonds, accounts, receipts, 117.

1/2/1-333. Correspondence and papers of Mary Bagshawe.

Elizabeth Badham (1741-53), 74; Clarke family (1705-40), 14; Isaac Clegg (1719-60), 27; Anne Metcalfe, *née* Clegg (1748-53), 12; Gervase

Nevile (1724-5), 5 ; Margaret Newton, *sister* (1699-1743), 28 ; Robert Newton (1727-54), 26 ; Margaret Pole (c. 1720-6), 17 ; Joanna Sleigh (1708-26), 8 ; Priscilla Wildman, *sister* (1715-46), 13 ; Wingfield Wildman (c. 1740-54), 18 ; Dorothy Wingfield, *sister* (1716-42), 12 ; John Wingfield, *father* (1715-30), 7 ; Storie Wingfield, *brother*, and Sarah his wife (1706-40), 11 ; miscellaneous correspondence, 29 ; papers (cookery recipes, notes of sermons, etc.), 32.

1/3/1-141. Correspondence of Ferdinando Wingfield, brother of Mary Bagshawe

Mary Bagshawe (1715-16), 9 ; Peter, Richard and John Dowker (1710-16), 60 ; business correspondence (1707-21), 67 ; correspondence relating to his seizure by the Portuguese in 1721 (1721), 5.

II. COLONEL SAMUEL BAGSHAWE (d. 1762)

2/1/1-2/3/882. CORRESPONDENCE.

2/1/1-303. Correspondence : The 93rd Regiment.

From his officers and army agents concerning the 93rd Regiment (1759-62).

2/2/1-824. Correspondence : Other military.

Lt. M. Abbott (1747) ; Gen. John Aldercron (1752-9), 43 ; Lord Barrington, Secretary at War (1757-8), 10 ; Lt. Edward Beavor (1751) ; Maj.-Gen. Sir William Boothby (1754) ; Harry Bourne (1757) ; Capt. James Butler of the Royal Artillery (1748-61), 12 ; Capt. James Campbell of the 39th (1757-61), 13 ; J. Carnac (1758) ; Dr. Thomas Carnegie (1757-61), 13 ; Lt. George Cartwright (1756-9), 6 ; James Clark (1769) ; Lord Clive¹ (1754-62), 5 ; Col. William Congreve (1757) ; Capt. Corneille of the 39th (1759-62), 8 ; Col. James Cotes (1745-51), 15 ; John Cottrell (n.d.) ; Alexander Dalrymple (1757) ; Lt. Dalton (1758), 2 ; Lt. William Dawkin of the 39th (1746-61), 18 ; Capt. Theophilus Desbrisay, Irish agent of the 39th (1752-9), 19 ; Stratford Eyre, Governor of Galway (1759), 4 ; Gen. John Folliott of the 18th (1759), 2 ; Major Francis Forde of the 39th (1748-60), 10 ; Capt. Archibald Grant of the 39th (1747-57), 46 ; M. Heathcote (1758) ; Major David Hepburne (1746-61), 20 ; Ensign Horsbrugh of the 39th (1758), 2 ; Major Edward Hunt of the 39th (1751-60), 8 ; Dr. George Jackson (1761) ; Col. Charles Jefferyes of the 14th (1759) ; Capt. Henry Keene (1759) ; Col. William Kellett of the 39th (1758-60), 3 ; Major James Kilpatrick (1758) ; Col. Anthony Ladeuze, Irish agent of the 39th (1752-3), 13 ; Major William Leslie, aide-de-camp to Lord Rothes (1752), 2 ; Capt. Thomas Levett, English agent of the 39th (1744-53), 101 ; Lt. James Lewis (1758) ; Lt. Robert Lindsay (1745, 1748), 2 ; Samuel Lobell (1749) ; Ensign Richard Lombard (1759) ; Major Verney Lovett of the 39th (1747-8), 3 ; John Lyons (1748) ; Capt. John Melville (1759) ; Joseph Moore (1757) ; Messrs. Morse, Calcraft and Roberts, War Office and army agents (1753-9), 53 ; Lt. James Mountfort (1748) ; Ensign John

¹ Including one copy of a letter from Clive and a copy of a letter from Col. Bagshawe to Clive.

Nugent (1747); John Perrin (1750, 1751), 2; Lt. John Piggott (1757-60), 11; Col. Edward Sacheverell Pole (1758), 2; Ensign Caleb Powell (1750-52), 4; Lt. William Reynolds (1758); Gen. Richbell, Colonel of the 39th (1744-59), 18; Rev. Rowland Rogers (1747); Col. Sewell of the 39th (1748-53), 203; Katherine Shawe (1760-1), 5; Lt. John Spital (1749); George Symes (1749); Capt. Thomas Townsend (1748-50), 3; Mr. Secretary Thomas Waite of Dublin Castle (1753-62), 12; Henry Wallis (1761); Capt. Anthony Walsh of the 39th (1748-62), 24; Lt. Wellar (1745); Major Whitelock (1753); Lt. Willan (1746, 1747), 2; Capt. Williams (1747, 1750), 2; John Yorke (1757); correspondence of Col. Bagshawe before his first commission (1727-39), 41; miscellaneous fragments and drafts (18th cent.), 14.

2/3/1-881. Correspondence: Personal.

1-454. Relatives.

Catherine Bagshawe, *wife* (1751-6), 32; Mrs. Peters, later Mrs. Carroll, *sister* (1746-61), 43; William Bagshawe of Ford Hall, *uncle*, and his wife (1738-56), 116; William Bagshawe of Chowbent, and Samuel Bagshawe of Bowdenhead, *cousins* (1751-62), 17; Bagshaws of the Oaks (1745-61), 34; Lady Ann Caldwell (1751-63), 73; Lady Elizabeth Caldwell (1753-61), 5; Frederick Caldwell (1758-62), 20; Henry Caldwell (1752-62), 28; Sir James Caldwell (1744-62), 34; John Caldwell (1751-61), 11; Ann Cooke (1758-60), 3; Lady Judith Cooke (1752); Sir Samuel Cooke (1751-8), 22; Trench family (1752-61), 15; Anne de Valangin, *née* Caldwell (1754).

455-881. Others.

John Acton (1757-9), 9; Rev. John Ashe (1731-35), 3; Mrs. M. Blennerhassett (1753), 3; Buckley Bower (1757-62), 79; Capt. Edward Brereton (1747-60), 6; Jemmet Brown, bishop of Cork and Ross (1754-9), 7; Dr. John Browne (1758-60), 7; Clegg family, incl. Rev. James (1748-62), 26; Thomas Colley (1749-59), 17; John Creswell (1761); George Deacon (1744-52), 4; Samuel Evatt (1757-62), 53; Thomas Fletcher, dean of Down (1739-58), 14; Thomas Frost (1757), 2; Anthony Garmonsway (1744-51), 10; Rev. John Goddard (1758); William Goddard (1759); Jonathan Greaves (1761); Lt. Richard Gresham (1743-4), 2; Patrick Hamilton (1752), 3; Hardwar family (1712-60), 31; M. Heathcote (1759), 4; Hugh Henderson (1757); Rev. I. Kiernander (1756-7), 6; Eliza Lambert, later Johns (1747-8), 5; John Lees (1757); John Lodge (1752, 1757), 2; Mary Lumley (1756); William Maitland (1754); Anne Melia (1761); John Monk Morgan (1723-62), 13; Francis Munday (1758); Gen. Napier (1759); T. Pickering (1759, 1762), 2; William Roberts (1755-6), 5; Edward Scriven (1759, 1761), 2; George Sealy (1753), 3; Rev. Philip Skelton (1758-61), 7; William Stewart (1761); Frederick Trench (1751-61), 21; Louis Trench (1740); Messrs. Touchetts of Manchester (1758-62), 12; Joseph Warburton (1750); Dr. T. White (1752-62), 5; Sir Robert Wilmot (1753-61), 14; W. Worthington (n.d.); Thomas Wright (1758), 2; respecting Turnpike roads (1758-61), 7; respecting the election of 1761, 5;

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letters to Col. Bagshawe's executors (1762-4), 5 ; fragments, drafts and shorthand notes (18th cent.), 16.

2/4/1-2/7/436. PAPERS.

2/4/1-751. Papers : Military.

Gibraltar papers of Col. Bagshawe as a Sergeant (1736-8), 13 ; expedition to the coast of France (1746), 6 ; military orders and instructions (c. 1736-62), 76 ; returns, muster rolls and lists of casualties (1743-62), 86 ; courts martial (1749-59), 14 ; regimental accounts and receipts (c. 1740-62), 556.

2/5/1-2/6/294. East India Papers.

2 bound volumes and 2 bundles (1754-57), 573.

Correspondence, papers and accounts relating to Col. Bagshawe's command in the 39th Regiment of Foot in India.

2/7/1-436. Personal papers.

Mainly household and personal bills (c. 1730-62).

III. CALDWELL FAMILY

SIR JAMES CALDWELL, 1st Bart. (d. 1717)

3/1/1-40. Correspondence (1684-1713).

3/2/1-117. Papers, business and estate (1637-1717).

SIR HENRY CALDWELL, 2nd Bart. (d. 1726)

3/3/1-8. Correspondence and papers (1683-1716).

SIR JOHN CALDWELL, 3rd Bart. (d. 1744)

3/4/1-39. Correspondence and papers (1721-44).

3/5/1-48. Correspondence of Ann, Lady Caldwell, *wife*, with accounts (1738-81).

SIR JAMES CALDWELL, 4th Bart. (d. 1784)

3/6/1-3/20/411. CORRESPONDENCE.

3/6/1-3/12/42. Letter Books.

3/6/1. Letter-Book (Foreign) and Commonplace Book (1745-6). 20 fols.

3/7/1. Letter-Book (Foreign) and Commonplace Book (1746-7). 27 fols. (Imperf.).

3/8/1. Letter-Book (Foreign) (1747-8). 37 fols. With fragment (1748) of 3 fols.

3/9/1. Letter-Book (Nov. 1756-July 1758). 12 fols. (Imperf.).

3/10/1-626. Letter-Book (1750-82). 11 bound volumes.

3/11/1-43. Letter-Book (1759-83). 1 bound volume.

3/12/1-42. As 3/11, without the last item.

3/13/1-137. Family.

Ann, Lady Caldwell, *mother* (1745-60), 12 ; Catherine and Anne, *sisters* (1745-51), 4 ; Charles, *brother* (1750-76), 10 ; Frederick, *brother* (1756-82), 3 ; Henry, *brother* (1750-c. 1776), 28 ; Hume, *brother* (1750-61), 8 ; John, *brother* (1745-73), 22 ; Arabella and Mary Anne, *daughters* (1772-c. 1790), 14 ; Fitzmaurice, *son* (1775-88), 8 ; John, *son* (1768-83), 21 ; Josiah John, *son* (1787-1801), 7.

3/14/1-161. Relations.

Aylmer (1764-78), 6 ; Wm. Caldwell (1749-74), 4 ; Cathcart (1758-78), 10 ; Coghill (1762-79), 7 ; Cooke (1745-58), 14 ; Denny (1759-81), 4 ; Fitzmaurice (1755-80), 16 ; Hamilton (1744-79), 8 ; Hort (1754-78), 11 ; Loftus (1752-69), 6 ; Newcomen (1750-69), 5 ; Rochfort (1767-77), 30 ; Shelburne (1755-c. 1782), 14 ; Trench (1749-58), 11 ; de Valangin (1753-5), 3 ; Weldon (1764-79), 4 ; Wynne (1773-7), 9.

3/15/1-175. Peerage.

Amherst, 1st Baron (1781), 3 ; Arran, 1st Earl (1767) ; Beauchamp, Viscount (1771) ; Bective, 1st Earl (1773) ; Belvidere, 2nd Earl (1775) ; Bessborough, 1st and 2nd Earls (1755, 1762), 3 ; Lady Blayney (1753) ; Buckinghamshire, 2nd Earl (1777, 1778), 2 ; Bute, 3rd Earl (c. 1762-3) ; Camden, 1st Earl (c. 1778-9), 4 ; Cavan, 6th Earl (1778) ; Charleville, 1st Earl and *wife* (1763), 2 ; Clanbrassill, 4th Earl (1773), 2 ; Clermont, 1st Baron (1773) ; Crawford, 21st Earl (1778), 2 ; Hon. William Crosbie, later Earl of Glandore (n.d.) ; Dartmouth, 2nd Earl (1780) ; Dungannon, 1st Viscount (1768) ; Wm. Eden, later 1st Baron Auckland (1781-3), 7 ; Egmont, 2nd Earl (c. 1763-6), 2 ; Enniskillen, 1st Viscount (1783), 2 ; Erne, 1st Baron (1771) ; Farnham, 1st and 2nd Earls (1756-83), 8 ; Henry Fox, later 1st Baron Holland (1763), 2 ; Germain¹ (1753-81), 11 ; Gower, 2nd Earl (?1781-2), 2 ; Halifax, 2nd Earl (1762, 1763), 2 ; Harcourt, 1st Earl (1776), 3 ; Hertford, 1st Earl (1762, 1783), 2 ; Hillsborough, 1st Earl (c. 1780-1), 6 ; Lanesborough, 2nd Earl (1761-78), 17 ; Edwin Lascelles, later Baron of Harewood (1778, 1781), 2 ; Leinster, 2nd Duke (c. 1776) ; Liford, 1st Baron (1769) ; Marchmont, 3rd Earl (1765-78), 3 ; Massereene, 5th Viscount (1755) ; Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1746) ; Mount Florence, 1st Baron (1759-66), 3 ; Mulgrave of New Ross, 2nd Baron (1781), 2 ; Northington, 2nd Earl (1783) ; Northumberland, 1st Duke (1766-80), 3 ; John O'Neill, later Viscount (1783), 2 ; Pelham, 2nd Baron (1783) ; William Pitt, later Earl of Chatham (1759), 3 ; John Ponsonby² (1750-9), 5 ; Portland, 3rd Duke (1782), 2 ; Sandwich, 4th Earl (1773) ; Shuldharn, 1st Baron (1781) ; Southwell, 3rd Baron (1771) ; Stormont, 7th Viscount (1780) ; Temple, 2nd Earl (1782-3), 3 ; Townshend, 1st Marquess (1769-82), 33 ; Westmeath, 6th Earl (1771) ; miscellaneous fragments (18th cent.), 10.

¹ Lord George Sackville, son of Lionel Cranfield, 1st Duke of Dorset, assumed the surname Germain, 1770.

² Second son of 1st Earl of Bessborough.

3/16/1-434. Non-peers.

P. Abercromby (n.d.); John Alcock (1776), 2; James Alexander (1776); Francis Andrews (1761), 2; M. Archdall (1771, 1775), 2; Margaret Armar (1769); General Bigoe Armstrong (1774, 1776), 2; Capt. Armstrong (n.d.); Mary Atchison (1774); Sir Frederick Barnard (1780); Thomas Barton (1758); Wm. Barton (1771); Capt. Elias Bate, R.N. (1750), 2; Sir Patrick Bellew (1772); Charles Blakeney (1762); Nicholas Bonfoy (1756); [?] Booker (1772); Frances Boswell (?1760); Capt. Brady (1751); W. Bristow (1757, 1758), 2; Sir Arthur Brooke (1756-83), 3; Gustavus Brooke (1771); Andrew Buck (1774); John Bullock (1762); O. Burns (1761); A. Burrowes (1760); Christopher Carleton (1772, 1775), 2; William Carleton (1768-77), 4; Joseph Carson (1771); Richard Charleton (1774), 3; Daniel Chenevix (1773); William Coane (1758); Sir W. Codrington (1770); Arthur Cole (1777); Mr. Collister (1762, 1773), 2; Sir John Colthurst (1761-76), 4; James Connell (1764); Hon. Thomas Conolly (1769-77), 4; Digby Cooke (1778); Mary Cooke (1773); J. Cooper (1783); Margaret Cossley (1764); Mrs. Cox (1761); Sir Richard Cox (1763); Capt. John Cullen (1760); Patrick Cullen (1774-7), 8; Col. Robert Cunningham (1770, 1776), 2; John Dawes (1768); Roger Dodd (1783); John Donnellan (1771); M. Donnellon (1749); D. Dukart (1775), 2; George Doyel (1771); Sir John Duntze (1779); Mr. Eaton (1781); W. Ellis (1771); George Faulkner (1763); Edmund Fawcett (1756), 2; John Ford (1771); Rt. Hon. James Fortescue (1750-78), 10; Rt. Hon. W. H. Fortescue (1750-75), 7; Robert Gamble (1762-76), 5; David Garrick (1776), 2; Capt. Gethings (1781); Sit Booth Gore (n.d.); Lt. John Gore (1762), 3; Col. William Gore (1761, 1763), 2; George Hagarty (1763); Joseph Hamilton (1776, 1783), 2; Ralph Harman (1762); Jason Hassard (1759); Mrs. A. Hawkesworth (1775-86), 4; Dr. John Hawkesworth (1762-71), 15; Mary Hawkesworth (1774); John Helden (1762); David Henderson (1781); John Henniker (1779, 1781), 2; James Henry (1759); Dr. William Henry (1758, 1760), 2; Sir Richard Heron (1778, 1779), 2; Mr. Hewitson (1771); William Higginson (1762); Rt. Hon Arthur Hill (1756, 1758), 2; Hugh Hill (1775, 1776), 2; Capt. J. Hollwall (1753); William Hope (1760); Sir Charles Howard (n.d.); Gorges Edmond Howard (1766-71), 7; James Hutchinson (1766); Arthur Henry Irvine (n.d.); John Irvine (1768); Sir John Irvine (1777, 1778), 2; Katherine Irvine (1776); Col. William Irvine (1777); Mr. Irvine (1768); Mr. Jackson (1782); Thomas Jenkin (1771); John Johnston (1771); Thomas Johnston (1758); Loftus Jones (1779); Thomas Jones (1779); Alexander Kelburn (1777-83), 3; Capt. Edward Keller, R.N. (1750); John Kernan (1771); Andrew Knox (1759), 2; Dr. Michael Law (1760-81), 13; Robert Law (1776); John Lees (1778); C. P. Leslie (1777), 2; Julia Leslie (1764); Sir Ashton Lever (1783), 2; James Lockhart (1762); Dr. G. Lucas (1765); Sir Francis and Lady Lumm (1778-9), 6; Robert Lyons (1776); George Macartney (1771); James McFarlane (1775-6), 3; John McKeogh, jun. (1766); Edward Madden (1756), 5; Alexander Mangin (1762); John Marsh (1772); Capt. Maxwell (1776); Robert Maxwell (1756); John Melville (1760); Hill Mills (1770-7).

17 ; H. Minchin (1750) ; B. Molesworth (1762) ; Bernard Molloy (1776) ; George Moncriff (1762) ; Richard Moncriffe (1773, 1783), 2 ; Alexander Montgomery (1781) ; H. W. Montgomery (1750-6), 3 ; V. Montgomery (1775) ; William Montgomery (1760-83), 4 ; Gen. Sir John Mordaunt (1758, 1759), 2 ; Sir Edward Newenham (1771) ; James Noble (1750) ; Mark Noble (1779) ; Dr. Richard Norris (1771), 2 ; William and John Ogle (1771-81), 8 ; Lt. Bernard O'Kelly (1765, 1770), 2 ; Sir James Adolph Oughton (1778) ; M. Palmer (1771) ; Mrs. Mary Percival (1759) ; Mr. Pinto (1774) ; J. Pomeroy (1760) ; Alexander Rankin (1756) ; Major George T. Ridsdale (1774), 2 ; T. G. Ridsdale (1773-5), 10 ; Col. Robert Ross (1771) ; Royal Society (1752-81), 6 ; Thomas St. George (1771) ; Robert Sandford (n.d.) ; Francis Sandys (1774) ; Edward Scanlan (1756) ; James Scanlan (1756) ; Col. Severne (1760), 2 ; Redmond Simpson (1775, 1776), 2 ; Col. Philip Skene (1774, 1775), 2 ; H. Skrine (n.d.) ; Joachim Smith (1763) ; Robert Smith (1776) ; Robert Smyth (1756) ; Edward Sneyd (1770-4), 3 ; Jer. Sneyd (1759) ; William Southwell (1761) ; Nicholas Spence (1776) ; William Stuart (1759) ; Charles Swindell (1774) ; James Tilson (1762) ; Philip Tisdal, attorney general (n.d.) ; Charles Tottenham (1761-3), 3 ; Joseph Townsend (1771) ; Charles Townshend (1762) ; Capt. William Tredenick (1755-81), 24 ; Miss Tredenick (n.d.) ; Mr. and Mrs. Trevor (1764) ; Michael Henry Tuthill (1763-76), 6 ; Richard Underwood (1774) ; Col. George Vaughan (1750, 1762), 2 ; Col. [J.] Vaughan (1775) ; William Vaughan (1762), 2 ; Gen. Vaughan (1775) ; John Vere (1749) ; Mary Vesey (1752) ; Bernard Victory (1773), 2 ; Thomas Waite (1764, 1766), 2 ; Albany Wallis (1775-79), 5 ; Thomas Wallis (1776) ; Richard Warburton (1761) ; Capt. Ward (1775) ; Philip [? Waval] (1756) ; Matthew West (1774, 1775), 2 ; John White (1771, 1782), 2 ; Thomas Williams (1750) ; Col. Edward Windus (1761) ; Mr. Woodfall (n.d.) ; Thomas Woolsey (1772), 7 ; Thomas Wynne (1750), 2 ; Arthur Young (1772-9), 4 ; Dublin Society (1770-4), 3 ; City of Londonderry (n.d.) ; miscellaneous fragments (18th cent.), 17.

3/17/1-84. Ecclesiastical.

Thomas Barnard, dean of Derry (1775-8), 9 ; Edward Bayly, dean of Ardfert (1771, 1773), 2 ; R. Browne (1777) ; Charles Colthurst (1778) ; C. Cooper (1778) ; Walter Cope, dean of Dromore (1764) ; James Cottingham (1774, 1777), 2 ; Michael Cox, archbishop of Cashel (1775) ; John Garnet, bishop of Clogher (1775), 2 ; James Hamilton (1770) ; Dr. Thomas Hastings (1764, 1783), 2 ; Hon. Frederick Hervey, bishop of Derry (1769-81), 12 ; Thomas Higinbottam (1760) ; Francis Johnston (1776-83), 3 ; Denis Maguire (1763-83), 8 ; Isaac Mann, archdeacon of Dublin (1765-8), 4 ; George Marlay, bishop of Dromore (1758) ; Hon. Henry Maxwell, bishop of Meath (1776), 3 ; T. Mayne (1779) ; William Newcombe, bishop of Dromore (1771, 1774), 2 ; Mr. Nixon (1775) ; Brownlow North, bishop of Worcester (1781) ; John Oliver (1771) ; Philip Skelton (1750-78), 16 ; Clotworthy Soden (1777, 1778), 2 ; George Stone, archbishop of Armagh (1756) ; William Tisdall (1778, 1783), 2 ; Hugh Tuthill (1783) ; miscellaneous (1777), 2.

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3/18/1-59. Foreign.

Miscellaneous letters (45), passports (7), fragments (7). 1746-83.

3/19/1-153. Claims for an Irish peerage.

Correspondence (c. 1750-83), of which the bulk is with George, Viscount Townshend.

3/20/1-411. Business letters. 1745-83.

Including finance, rents, chief rents, leasing of land, purchase of wine, cooperage, estate management, farming, household purchases, sales of wood and fisheries.

3/21/1-25. WRITINGS.

1-8. "Pamphlets": Bound manuscript volume in the hand of James Maguire (*Caldwell's amanuensis*), containing :

1. "Some Account of the City of Bourdeaux in France with a View to an Expedition against it." 1746. With 2 copies (one a holograph of Sir James Caldwell).
2. "A letter to Lord Newton With the Speeches of the Duke of Bedford, Lord Bute, Lord Temple, Lord Shelburne, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Talbot and Lord Melcomb, on the Motion to recall the Forces from Germany." February 1761. With draft (in Dr. John Hawkesworth's hand) and copy.
3. "A letter to Lord Newton." September 1761. With draft (imperf.) in the hand of Dr. John Hawkesworth.
4. "Supposed Speech of a Frenchman upon the question of Peace or War." With copy.
5. The same in French.
6. "A Proposal for Increasing His Majesty's revenue in Ireland." 1763. With printed copy and manuscript fragment (imperf.).
7. "A Letter to a Noble Lord on its being reported that a Gentleman in the Irish Parliament . . . had taken amiss the publishing in the 'Irish Debates' some things that was said relative to him." (n.d.)
8. "An address to Lord Townshend from the inhabitants of Mourne and the merchants of Newry in favour of Sir James Caldwell's Light Dragoons." October 1772. With fragment.

9-14. "Pamphlets": Dublin Society. Bound manuscript volume in the hand of James Maguire, containing :

9. "Plan Proposed by Sir James Caldwell to the Dublin Society, for encouraging the sale of fish in Dublin." 1764. With 2 manuscript fragments, one drafted by Dr. John Hawkesworth.
10. "A Letter to the Dublin Society giving An Account of the Culture and Quality of Several Kinds of Grass lately discovered." 1765.
11. "Two Letters to the Dublin Society, The First Proposing the Encouragement of a Manufacture, And the second of a Commerce." 1767.

12. "Proposals for the Relief of the Blind Poor In and About the City of Dublin. To which is Added an Ode as it is [to be] performed at an Assembly to be held at the Rotunda of the Lying-In Hospital as an Aid for establishing a Fund to provide for this Charity." 1769.
13. "A Proposal for Employing, Cloathing and Furnishing with Implements of Husbandry Children from the Age of ten to Sixteen." 1770.
14. "A Proposal for the Increase of Apiaries in Ireland Addressed to the Dublin Society." 1765. Printed copies of this are bound with the 4 items mentioned in B 3/21/15 below.

15-17. "Pamphlets": Bound volume, printed, containing :

15. "A Letter to the Dublin Society, from Sir James Caldwell, Fellow of the Royal Society. Giving an Account of the Culture and Quality of Several Kinds of Grass lately discovered. To which is Added the Second Edition of his Proposal for the Increase of Apiaries in Ireland addressed to the Dublin Society." 1765. With 4 printed copies (one imperf.).
16. "An Essay on the Character and Conduct of his Excellency Lord Visc. Townshend." 1771. With a bound manuscript volume in the hand of James Maguire and manuscript (imperf.) and printed copy (imperf.) respecting the same.
17. "An Address to the House of Commons of Ireland by a Freeholder." 1771. With manuscript copy, imperf.

18. "A Short View of the Present Situation in Prussia and Austria." 1763. Bound manuscript volume in the hand of James Maguire. With 2 imperfect copies, showing some differences.

19. "Sir James Caldwell's Journey to Vienna in 1765." Bound manuscript volume, holograph.

20. "An Enquiry how far the Restrictions laid upon the Trade of Ireland By British Acts of Parliament are a Benefit or Disadvantage to the British Dominions in General and to England in Particular." 1766. With papers relating to a Case concerning the same, 1780.

21. "Extracts of the British Statutes which lay a restraint upon the Trade of Ireland." 1766.

22. "Proposal for Increasing His Majesty's Revenue in Ireland by the Prevention of Smuggling on the Sea Coast near the Mountains of Morn." 1772. With 2 imperfect copies.

23. "Some Account of the Life of the late Colonel Hume Caldwell." 1780. 2 bound copies, both in the hand of James Maguire. With 1 bound printed copy and 5 imperfect manuscript fragments.

24. Fragments. 18th cent. 21 items. Included are 6 concerning provincial regiments in Ireland, 5 on the woollen trade and 4 on the defence of Ireland.

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25. "A Brief Examination of the Question whether it is Expedient Either in a Religious or Political View to pass an Act to enable Papists to take Real Securities for money which they lend." 1764. Modern copy in the hand of W. H. G. Bagshawe.

3/22/1-3/28/52. PAPERS AND ACCOUNTS.

3/22/1-28. Memorials of Sir James Caldwell in respect of his application for an Irish peerage.

3/23/1-31. Papers relating to the Enniskillen Light Horse (20th Dragoons) commanded by Sir James Caldwell. 1759-65.

3/24/1-53. Business and estate papers. 1750-83.

3/25/1-11. Settlements and testamentary papers. c. 1750-83.

3/26/1-145. Miscellaneous papers. 18th cent.

Including literary (65); political (17); fishery (9); affidavits, etc. for cos. Fermanagh and Donegal (16); lists of freeholders for co. Fermanagh, recipes, prescriptions, pedigrees.

3/27/1-10. Inventories and catalogues. 1774-84.

3/28/1-52. Account Books and accounts.

1. Foreign accounts. 1744-6. 1 vol.

2. "An Account of Work done [labouring, quarrying, haymaking, etc.] for S^r. Ja^s. [Caldwell]." 1751-5. 1 vol.

3. Account Book (miscellaneous) of Sir James Caldwell. 1762. (In the hand of Elizabeth, Lady Caldwell.)

4. Account Book (miscellaneous) of Sir James Caldwell. 1766-8. At the end is Lady Caldwell's Catalogue of music and musical instruments, 1774.

5. "A Rent-Roll of Sir Ja^s. Caldwell Bart.^{rs} Estate in the Year 1770."

6. Two fragments of Account Books. 1764 (2 fols.) and 1774 (1 fol.).

7. Receipt Book. March-April 1780. Imperf.

8. Account Book (miscellaneous). 1774-83. A folio volume, imperf.

9. Account Book (miscellaneous, incl. rents). 1778-90. A folio volume, imperf.

10-52. Accounts (various). 1748-83 (43).

LADY ELIZABETH CALDWELL, *née* HORT (d. 1778).

3/29/1-3/32/46. CORRESPONDENCE.

3/29/1-116. Family.

Sir James Caldwell, *husband* (1757-78), 79; Ann, Dowager Lady Caldwell, *née* Trench (1769), 4; Charles Caldwell (1775), 2; Col. Henry and Mrs. Caldwell (1771-8), 8; Col. John Caldwell (1768, 1774), 2; Mary Anne Caldwell, *daughter* (n.d.); Fitzmaurice Caldwell, *son* (1774-7), 11; John Caldwell, *son* (1770-6), 3; Josiah John Caldwell, *son* (1775-7), 6.

3/30/1-153. Relations.

Lady Elizabeth Aylmer (1771-7), 46; Lady Mary Coghill (? 1756-77), 12; Lady Charlotte Colthurst, *née* Fitzmaurice (1760-71), 3; Lady Arabella Denny (1754-77), 39; Fitzmaurice family (1764-77), 3; Hort family (1748-77), 41; Shelburne family (1752-68), 3; Mrs. M. Trench (n.d.); Ann Weldon (1775-7), 4; Mrs. A. Wynne (1777).

3/31/1-87. Various correspondents.

Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Adderley (1772-4), 3; Jane Barnes (1777), 4; Mrs. Bernard (1768); M. Christian (n.d.); Arthur Cole (1777); Miss M. Cole (1775-6), 3; Mrs. Margaret Cole (n.d.); Dr. Corrie (1773); Mrs. E. Doyle (1774); Enniskillen, William, 1st Viscount and *wife* Anne (1775, 1776), 2; H. M. Fortesque (n.d.); Rebecca Forward (1773); Philippa Hamilton (1774); Mrs. R. Hamilton (1769-70), 3; Pat Hare (1775); Dr. John Hawkesworth (1766, 1768), 2; James Hern (1771); Josiah Hern (1774-6), 4; Mrs. E. Hervey (1774-6), 3; John Lapp Judkin (1775); Dr. Michael Law (1770, 1772), 2; Mrs. Leslie (1764); Jean McFarlane (1773, 1775), 2; Major Marsh (1774); Hill Mills (1772-8), 7; Elizabeth, Countess of Moira (1768, 1774), 2; Mrs. E. Morgan (1769-74), 6; Lady Elizabeth Mount Florence (1769); Lady Jane Newtown (1761); Major George T. Ridsdale (1773-8), 9; T. G. Ridsdale (1773, 1774), 2; Mary Shee (1775); Rev. Philip Skelton (n.d.); Creat Smyth (1775); Edward Sneyd (1774); Michael Henry Tuthill (1762-75), 3; A. Vesey (1770); Albany Wallis (1776-7), 4; Margaret Wallis (1764), 2; Thomas Wallis (1775); fragments (18th cent.), 2.

3/32/1-46. Business letters. 1754-77.

Including legal, financial, estate, management, housekeeping, building and repairs.

3/33/1-5. ACCOUNTS.

1-2. Account Books of the daily expenses of Lady Elizabeth Caldwell, 1773-7. 2 volumes.

3-5. Accounts (various). 1754-77. 3.

SIR JOHN CALDWELL, 5TH BART. (d. 1830).

3/34/1-3/38/205. CORRESPONDENCE.

3/34/1-70. Family.

Lady Harriet Caldwell, *née* Meynell, *wife* (1789-1802), 12; Arabella Caldwell, *sister* (1787-90), 6; Elizabeth Caldwell, *sister* (1787-1811), 13; Emily Caldwell, *sister* (1787-1808), 8; Mary Anne, Countess Belmore, *sister* (1788-1809), 8; Fitzmaurice Caldwell, *brother*, and his wife Lady Hannah Tynte (1787-1810), 18; Mrs. Frances Arabella Bloomfield, *daughter* (1808-10), 3; Louisa Georgiana, Lady Hort, *daughter* (1810), 2.

3/35/1-44. Relations.

Belmore, 1st Earl (1797-8), 2; Anne Davidson Bland (c. 1795-1809), 8; Gen. Frederick Caldwell (1807-8), 3; Col. Henry Caldwell (1783-1808), 15;

Sir John Caldwell (1784-1808), 6; Elizabeth Cathcart (1789); Sir John and Lady Coghill (1772-87), 3; Sir John Coghill, 2nd bart. (1785); Viscount Corry¹ (1798); Sir John and Lady Hort (1790, 1811), 2; Sir Josiah William Hort (1823); Mary Weldon (1786).

3/36/1-49. Peerage.

Buckingham, 1st Marquess (1788); Ely, 2nd Marquess (1807); Enniskillen, 1st and 2nd Earls (1785-1811), 18; Enniskillen, Anne, Countess of (n.d.); Farnham, 2nd Earl (1801-10), 5; Lady Anne Fitzgerald (1788-1809), 10; Frankfort, 1st Baron (1811), 2; Hartland, 1st Baron (1801); Lansdowne, 1st Marquess (1782-9), 3; Rutland, 4th Duke (n.d.); Townshend, 1st Marquess (1781-8), 3; miscellaneous, fragments (1773-1802), 3.

3/37/1-198. Non-peerage.

Gen. J. Affleck (1807), 3; archdeacon A. Allen (1791-6), 4; M. Archdall (1801); Edmund Armstrong (1785); James Armstrong (1799); John Armstrong (1804), 3; Martha Baylis (1815); Humphrey Bellamy (1808); Mary Beswell (1808), 3; Henry C. Boisragon (1808), 3; Sir Arthur Brooke (1783); Matilda de Cloirville Caffin (1807); Gen. Colin Campbell (1799-1801), 8; Eliza Cochrane (1809); Rev. James Cochrane (1798-1809), 7; Henry Cole (n.d.); Edward Conolly (1823); E. Cooke (1801); Thomas Coppard (1790); George Dallas (1806), 2; Diana Dashwood (1791); M. Deane (1801-2), 2; A. S. De Peyster (1785); John Ellis (1802); Major Robert Fitzgerald (1800); Thomas Fitzmaurice (1785); Col. Charles Forbes (1801), 2; Gen. Grenville (1788); J. Guillemand (1794); Alexander Hamilton (1801-2), 3; R. B. D. Harcourt (1785); Patrick Holy (1802), 3; Arthur Henry Irvine (1784-8), 21; F. M. Irvine (1799); George D'Arcy Irvine (1790-1802), 4; Letitia Mervyn Irvine (1801); S. M. Irvine (1801-2), 4; C. Jenkinson (1781); Hugh Johnston (1800); James Johnston (1801); John Johnston (1788, 1799), 2; Stephen Keenan (1801); S. King (n.d.); Emily Leeson (1807), 2; Henry Leslie (1801-7), 8; Col. E. B. Littlehales (1801-11), 4; Rev. Denis Maguire (1788, 1791), 2; James Montgomery (1801); Mrs. Morgan (1772); Gen. William Brydges Neynoe (n.d.), 2; Major J. G. Ogilvie (n.d.); Letitia Ogilvie (n.d.); Henry O'Neile (1803, 1804), 2; S. J. Pratt (1788-1808), 13; A. Remfleld (1801), 2; John Ridge (1800, 1801), 2; T. G. Ridsdale (1772); William Sadler (1806); Howard St. George (1791); E. Sargent (1815); F. Saunderson (1790); Alexander Shaw (1791); S. Sheil (1804-11), 6; Thomas Shirley (1785); Nathaniel Sneyd (1800); W. Sneyd (1791-8), 8; B. Stewart (1801-02), 3; G. Swift (1807), 2; Commander de Thuisy (1808); James Travers (1801); Charles Tully (1801); Thomas Young (1783); John White (1792), 2; John White (1807); Henry Wilson (1804); Richard Wilson (1801-6), 3; miscellaneous fragments (18th and 19th cent.), 19.

3/38/1-205. Business letters (1784-1830), mainly legal, financial and estate.

¹ Courtesy title of the heir apparent of the Earls Belmore.

3/39/1-3/44/39. PAPERS AND ACCOUNTS.

3/39/1-20. Military papers. 1774-1812.

3/40/1-29. Business and estate papers. 1782-1810.

3/41/1-6. Magisterial appointments. 1795.

3/42/1-29. Miscellaneous papers. 1787-1819. Including papers respecting a journey to Switzerland in 1789 (11); recipes and prescriptions (8).

3/43/1-4. Inventories (3 household, 1 title deeds). c. 1785-1807.

3/44/1-39. Account books and accounts.

1. Estate accounts (agricultural). 1784-5. Imperf.
2. Rental of Sir John Caldwell's tenants. 12 January 1786.
3. Estate accounts (agricultural receipts and payments). 1789-91. 1 vol.
- 4-5. Castle Caldwell "Return Books". 1793-4. 2 vols.
- 6-7. Day accounts of work at Castle Caldwell. 1796-7. 2 vols.
8. Rental and account book for the Fermanagh estate. 1802-9. 1 vol.
9. "Statement of Rents of the Fermanagh and Cavan Estates." 1804-9.
10. "Rent Roll of Sir John Caldwell baronet, in the counties of Fermanagh and Cavan ending November 1814."

11-39. Accounts (various). 1783-1810.

3/45/1-73. CALDWELL MISCELLANEA.

1-16. Deeds and papers. 1574-1814.

17. "Fitzmaurice Caldwell's Narrative" (n.d.). 1 vol. imperf.

18. Commonplace Book (mainly geographical, genealogical and heraldic, copied from printed works). French and Latin. 1746-8. 260 pp. (Former owner: *John C. Bloomfield, Castle Caldwell*, inner front cover.)

19. An account of the Caldwell family. n.d. (19th cent.) 77 fols. (pp. 58-77, blank).

20-35. Bloomfield¹ correspondence and papers. 1774-1830.

36-73. Hort² correspondence and papers. 1726-90.

IV. ANNE BAGSHAWE, NÈE FOXLOWE (d. 1844)

4/1/1-4/2/415. CORRESPONDENCE.

4/1/1-540. Correspondence: Family.

Bagshawe: Rev. William, *husband*, and William, *son* (1818-28), 5.

Greaves: Mary, *daughter*, and Henry, *son-in-law* (1828-44), 106; William, *grandson* (c. 1840), 10; various (1803-41), 16.

¹ Frances Arabella Caldwell married John Colpoys Bloomfield, 1817.

² Josiah Hort, archbishop of Tuam, was father of Lady Elizabeth Caldwell.

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Foxlowe : Rev. Francis, *brother*, Jane his *wife* and Mary (1819-44), 56.

Correspondence¹ of Rev. Francis, Jane, Dorothy and Anne Foxlowe (1743-1848), 134.

Gisborne : Mrs. Gordon, *née* Gisborne (1815-44), 45 ; Hon. Mrs. Vesey Knox, *née* Gisborne (1803-44), 50.

Correspondence² of Mrs. Dixon *née* Gisborne (1759-94), 45 ; Rev. Francis Gisborne (1777-1817), 45 ; accounts (various) (18th-19th cent.), 35 ; miscellaneous, 22.

4/2/1-415. Correspondence : Various.

Thomas Allen (1841-3), 7 ; Dr. Richard Aston (1853-4), 5 ; Rev. Auriol and Mrs. Barker (1832), 28 ; Bedford family (1799-1841), 14 ; Mary Browne (1834-5), 14 ; Rev. N. B. Curry and Miss Curry (1838-42), 29 ; Rev. Samuel Grundy and family (1837-41), 21 ; Emily Guthrie (1818-31), 14 ; the Misses Harrison (c. 1838), 8 ; Liddell family (1818), 16 ; Mary Cunliffe Owen (c. 1830-44), 26 ; Mrs. Elizabeth Rawson (1816-40), 20 ; Shore family (1828-38), 30 ; Agnes Sterndale (c. 1840-1), 22 ; Louisa Sterndale (1835-42), 26 ; Mary Sterndale (1818-40), 42 ; Stanley Sterndale (1841), 2 ; Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Sterndale (c. 1844), 4 ; Rev. Thomas and Mrs. Sutton (1822-44), 15 ; Mrs. Thorold and Miss Harriet Thorold (1837-43), 12 ; Rev. W. H. and Mrs. Vale (1831-41), 16 ; Miss Vyvyan and Miss Satterthwaite (1828-44), 16 ; Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Walker (1828-44), 19 ; Elizabeth Wilkins (c. 1797), 5 ; Anne C. Young (1829-31), 4.

4/2/416-622. PAPERS.

Prose extracts, 8 ; verses and essays, 100 ; prayers, 6 ; accounts and receipts (various), 28 ; household recipes (18th-19th cent.), 65.

V. LORD JOHN MURRAY (d. 1787) AND HIS WIFE MARY, NÉE DALTON (d. 1765)

5/1/1-460. CORRESPONDENCE.

1-408. Bound manuscript volume of copies of letters and regimental orders concerning the 42nd or Highland Regiment (1756-7), with extracts and copies of private letters (1766-70), 110 ; bound manuscript volume of copies of letters to and from Lord John Murray at Banner Cross, concerning military affairs (1777-80), 298.

409-460. Miscellaneous correspondence (unbound) (1758-83), 52.

Mostly respecting business affairs and (26) the Hon. Mary Murray, his daughter.

¹ For convenience of reference this miscellaneous group is included here, although Mrs. William Bagshawe herself is not concerned in it.

² For convenience of reference these miscellaneous Gisborne correspondence and accounts are included here, although Mrs. William Bagshawe herself is not concerned in them.

5/2/1-330. PAPERS.

1-15. Personal papers, incl. marriage settlement (12 Sept. 1758), with copy; freedoms and memorials presented to Lord John and his ancestors (17th-18th cent.), 7; Wills of Lord and Lady John Murray (1764-81), 5.

16-57. Military papers: 1743-85.

58-107. Miscellaneous papers: 18th cent.

108-323. Receipts and accounts.

324-330. Plans and maps.

5/3/1-19. MANUSCRIPT VOLUMES.

1. History notebook of Edward Murray. 1729.
2. Trigonometry notebook of Lord Frederick Murray. c. 1730.
3. Account Book for crops. 1739-41.
4. "Contract of Marriage between James, Lord Deskfoord, and Lady Mary Murray. 9 June 1749."
5. "Rules and Articles for the Better Government of His Majesty's Horse and Foot Guards and all Other of His Forces." 1749 (printed).
6. Volume containing lists of officers and other particulars of the Highland Regiment commanded by Lord John Murray. 1751.
7. A catalogue of Lord John Murray's books at Perth, London, and Huntingtower. 1762.
8. Memoranda Book of Lord John Murray. 1762.
9. Inventory of goods at Banner Cross. 1762.
10. Music notebook of Lady John Murray. n.d. (mid-18th cent.)
11. Arithmetic notebook of Lord John Murray. n.d. (mid-18th cent.)
12. "Antient History", a volume in the hand of Lord John Murray. n.d. (mid-18th cent.).
13. Volume containing copies of letters by (pp. 11-17^v, 1697-8) and to (pp. 62-5^v, 1697) John, Earl of Tullibardine, later 1st Duke of Atholl; by (pp. 103-4^v, 1697) William III from the camp at Cocklebergh; and (pp. 22-51^v) extracts from Rapin's "History of England" made in 1732 by Lord John Murray. n.d. (mid-18th cent.). 128pp. (of which the remainder are blank).
14. "Work done at Banner Cross by gardeners, etc. 8th Jan. 1765-11th Feb. 1769, and record of the weather."
15. "Plans of the Estates in Derbyshire. . . . Survey'd and drawn by W^m. Fairbank." 1769.
16. "Maps of the several Estates . . . in the County of York, Survey'd by W^m. Fairbank." 1758-70.
17. "Farming and Gardening journal for Banner Cross commencing 1st Jan. 1778 to 27th Oct. 1781."

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18. Account of the families of Atholl (pp. 1-15) and Murray (pp. 16-25) and personal reminiscences (pp. 29-31) by Lord John Murray (holograph); pp. 44v-47 contain extracts from and copies of letters respecting Col. Norman Macleod. 1783. 137 pp. (of which the rest are blank).
19. " Bailiff's Account from May 2nd 1785 to Sept. 16th 1786, Banner Cross."

5/4/1-66. The Dalton family of Banner Cross.¹

Letter books (June 1735-April 1750) of Richard Dalton, merchant of Sheffield, 3 vols.; correspondence concerning Dalton *v.* Heathcote (1748-50), 23; correspondence of Mary Dalton (later Murray) (1749-55), 40.

VI. LIEUTENANT-GENERAL WILLIAM MURRAY, FORMERLY FOXLOWE (d. 1818)

6/1/1-6/2/485. PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE AND PAPERS.

6/1/1-871. Correspondence.

1-206. Relatives.

Samuel Foxlowe, *father* (c. 1781), 4; Rev. Francis Foxlowe of Staveley, *brother* (1789-1818), 36; Thomas Peter Foxlowe and *wife* Mary (1781-1818), 39; Rev. William and Mrs. Bagshawe, *née* Foxlowe (1781-1818), 127.

207-399. Various.

Alexander Anderson (1783-92), 23; Richard Astley (1791-1805), 9; Ld. Frederick Bentinck and the Duke of Portland (1799-1800), 3; Ld. William Bentinck (1797-1811), 13; Jane Browne (1818), 2; John Clay (1780-89), 9; Mary, Countess of Findlater and Seafield, (1784-8), 10; Rev. Francis Gisborne and Rev. Fletcher Dixon (1806-14), 5; Greaves family (1787-1815), 11; Major Gen. George William Richard Harcourt, M.P. (1795-1807) 14; Milne family (1804-14), 3; William and Anne Moore (1803-17), 16; E. Morris (1805-18), 7; James Wheeler Unwin (1802-13), 9; Sir Jeffrey Wyatville (1817-21),² 45; letters and papers respecting the Hon. Mrs. Murray (1782-1805), 14.

400-871. Estate and business.

Atholl, 4th Duke (1788-1813) 28; Joseph Bishop (1803-16), 62; John Brookfield (1787-1804), 10; Alexander Fraser and Edmund Bacot, solicitors to the Duke of Atholl (1811-16), 23; William Jessopp (1814-18), 17; Francis Squire (1797-8), 4; Bernard Wake (1811-18), 15; John Wheat (1783-92), 6; relating to Ashby, co. Lincoln (1804-13), 20; relating to Banner Cross (1787-1806), 12; relating to Dunstall (1811-16), 88; relating to the purchase of Dunstall and

¹ Lord John Murray married Mary Dalton, 1758.

² For convenience of reference Wyatville letters to Rev. William and Mrs. Bagshawe (21) are included here.

sale of Rawmarsh (1811-14), 47 ; relating to Rawmarsh and Hesley (1787-1804), 22 ; relating to Shooters Hill, nr. Doncaster (1790-1804), 17 ; relating to Lord John Murray's house, 247 Oxford Street, London (1784), 19 ; relating to Lady Aberdeen's house at St. Nicholas' Cliff, Scarborough (1809-10), 10 ; relating to houses and estates offered to Murray to rent (1804-17), 5 ; respecting a visit to Berne (1785-7), 10 ; miscellaneous (1781-1818), mainly estate and business papers, rights to sport and fish, invitations, 73.

6/2/1-485. Papers and accounts.

Journal of a visit to Switzerland (1785) ; settlement before the marriage of Mary Murray and William Foxlowe (1782), with draft and papers concerning the same, 40 ; Account Book, Banner Cross (1782-9) ; payments made for Mrs. Murray (1791-5), 41 ; plan of Banner Cross estates (18th cent.) ; particulars and valuation of Murray estates in cos. York and Derby (1811) ; residuary accounts, etc. respecting Murray's will (1815-19), 65 ; personal memoranda and accounts (1783-1818), 123 ; accounts and papers respecting Banner Cross, Birdshall and Dunstall (1808-25), 119 ; estate papers and accounts (1779-1816), 65 ; miscellanea, 29.

6/3/1-6/4/44. MILITARY CORRESPONDENCE AND PAPERS.

6/3/1-477. Correspondence.

Lt.-Gen. George Ainslie (1804-11), 38 ; Brownlow, 5th Duke of Ancaster (1804-6), 9 ; Lt.-Gen. Sir Harvey Calvert (1804-15), 5 ; Benjamin Cheales (1804-5), 9 ; Charles Combers, 24th Dragoons, (1804), 3 ; Edward Draper, Brigade Major to Gen. Hewgill, and George Pomeroy, aide-de-camp to the same (1804), 11 ; Capt. Ebhart, Murray's aide-de-camp (1813-15), 7 ; John Fraser, Murray's army agent (1804-19), 84 ; James Gomme (1803-6), 15 ; Gen. Edwin Hewgill (1804), 8 ; Lt.-Gen. Richard Jarry (1800-5), 5 ; William Henry Newton, Murray's Brigade Major (1804-6), 8 ; Lt.-Gen. Richard Vyse, and his assistant Adjutant Generals (1804-6), 20 ; yeomanry returns and correspondence (1804-5), 114 ; letter book (1782-3) ; miscellaneous correspondence and papers (1780-1816), respecting commissions, enlistment, leave of absence, allowances, written and printed instructions to inspecting Field Officers of volunteer cavalry and infantry, rates of pay of General Officers and uniforms, 140.

6/4/1-44. Papers.

Respecting signals stations, coastal and inland (1804-5), 13 ; reports and returns respecting the Royal West Middlesex Militia, the Lincolnshire Yeomanry and Volunteers, and troops in the inland districts (1804-14), 16 ; miscellaneous memoranda and papers (includes 3 items respecting action to be taken in case of an invasion of Ireland, 1809-14), 15.

6/5/1-11. MANUSCRIPT VOLUMES.

1. "Practical geometry." n.d. (18th cent.). Holograph.
2. "Heads of review exercise for a regiment of cavalry." n.d. (18th cent.).
3. "Fortification de Campagne." c. 1804. Holograph.

4. "Remarques et Corrections à faire sur la manière dont le camp de Penn a été occupé," with fair copy. c. 1804.
5. Notebook containing entries respecting the use of artillery. c. 1800.
6. Fragment of military instructions. n.d. (19th cent.).
7. "General regulations and orders relative to the duties in the field and in cantonments." 1798. (Printed.)
8. "Regulations relative to the contingent accompts of general and other staff officers." 1812. (Printed.)
9. Map : Pays de Vaud, Cantons of Berne and Fribourg. 1781.
10. Account of a decorated screen formerly owned by Gen. Murray. c. 1809.
11. Catalogues of books at Banner Cross. c. 1817-18. 3 vols.

VII. THE HON. MARY MURRAY (d. 1803)

7/1/1-282. Correspondence.

Lt.-Gen. William Murray, *husband* (1781-97), 54 ; Lord John Murray, *father* (included are some letters from Lord John to Lt.-Gen. Murray) (1774-86), 65 ; Clay family (1782-7), 8 ; Mary, Countess of Findlater and Seafield (1774-93), 24 ; Foxlowe family (1778-83), 12 ; miscellaneous (1770-97), respecting servants' clothes and millinery, 73 ; to the Rev. Mr. Robertson, written while she was at school in Queen Square, London (1774), 8 ; drafts to various correspondents (1780-c. 1801), 41.

7/2/1-159. Papers and accounts.

Journal, 1776-80 ; Journal of a visit to Switzerland (1785), with accounts, etc. concerning the same, 38 ; miscellaneous accounts, bills and receipts (1774-97), 93 ; miscellaneous papers and fragments (late 18th cent.), 27.

VIII. BAGSHAWES OF THE OAKS AND CASTLETON

8/1/1-7. RICHARD BAGSHAWE (d. 1750).

Richard Bagshawe, *son* (1732, 1738), 2 ; Sir Archibald Grant (1726-44), 5.

8/1/8-23. RICHARD BAGSHAWE (d. 1776).

William and John Bagshawe, *brothers* (1752-68), 6 ; Alexander Barker (1768, 1774), 2 ; Thomas Fletcher, bishop of Kildare (1754) ; Samuel Foxlowe (1765) ; Sir Archibald Grant (1753), 3 ; Dorothy Lister (1747) ; Joseph Offley (n.d.) ; Daniel Roundell (1758) ; Joseph Wilcockson (1768, 1770), 2.

8/1/24-204. WILLIAM BAGSHAWE (d. 1785).

Richard Bagshawe, *father* (1741-8), 3 ; Richard Bagshawe, *brother* (1741-63), 7 ; Ann Bagshawe, later Mrs. Newton (1778-85), 8 ; Catherine Bagshawe *née* Caldwell (1778-9), 6 ; Mary Bagshawe, *née* Simpson (1776-8), 5 ; Samuel Bagshawe of Ford Hall (d. 1804) (1776-85), 46 ; Rev. William Bagshawe of Ford Hall and Banner Cross (1780-5), 19 ; respecting a bequest

of Richard Bagshawe (d. 1776), 17 ; respecting William Bagshawe's appointment as Reader and Treasurer of the Inner Temple (1734-84), 10 ; Mrs. Walter Weldon (1778-84), 11 ; miscellaneous (1755-84), 34 ; drafts to various correspondents (1736-85), 14 ; letter-book, holograph (1746-85).

8/1/205-211. JOHN BAGSHAWE (d. 1791).

Catherine Bagshawe (1790) ; Samuel Bagshawe of Ford (1790) ; Stratford Canning (1784) ; Thomas Curry (1784), 2 ; John Curtiss (1786) ; John Hubbard, jun. (1780).

8/1/212-301. PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE : VARIOUS.¹

Chambers family of Hull, co. York (1755-85), 49 ; Drake family of Coles Hall, co. York (1709-96), 32 ; miscellaneous (18th cent.), 11.

8/2/1-8/3/90. BUSINESS CORRESPONDENCE (RICHARD, d. 1750—JOHN, d. 1791).

8/2/1-604. Business correspondence, papers and accounts.

Accounts and receipts of Richard Bagshawe, d. 1750 (1726-49), 16 ; receipts for King's rent and other payments for lands and property in Callow, Castleton and Hope (1653-1797), 291 ; correspondence and papers respecting the magisterial duties of Richard Bagshawe, d. 1750, and William Bagshawe, d. 1785 (1719-85), 66 ; correspondence and papers respecting the Castleton property and heriots and fee farm rents in the High Peak (1723-85), 114 ; papers and accounts of Richard Bagshawe, d. 1776, and his wife Elizabeth, d. 1792 (1751-79), 57 ; accounts of William Bagshawe, d. 1785 (1743-85), 12 ; accounts, bills and receipts (mainly residuary) of John Bagshawe, d. 1791 (1782-92), 17 ; accounts and papers respecting timber on the Oaks estate (1756-83), 5 ; correspondence and papers respecting a legacy from Richard Bagshawe (d. 1776) to William Hodgkinson (1777-91), 8 ; miscellaneous (1712-91), 18.

8/3/1-90. Mining correspondence, papers and accounts.

Correspondence, papers and accounts of Richard Bagshawe, d. 1750 (1704-50), 14 ; accounts of William, d. 1785, and John Bagshawe, d. 1791 (1750-58), 31 ; correspondence and accounts of William Bagshawe, d. 1785 (1767-83), 13 ; mineral accounts and papers of the Bagshawes of the Oaks (1738-82), 32.

8/4/1-8/5/345. JOHN BAGSHAWE² (d. 1801).

8/4/1-4197. Correspondence.

Messrs. John and William Anderton of Norton Lees (1796-1801), 12 ; George Andrée (1787-98), 29 ; John and Thomas Atkinson of Lincolns Inn (1785-1800), 57 ; Catherine Bagshawe, *née* Caldwell, *mother* (1777-94), 73 ; Ann Bagshawe, *sister*, (1778-98), 56 ; Samuel Bagshawe of Ford,

¹ Owing to the general form of address used in these letters, it has not been possible to assign them to individual members of this branch of the family.

² Second son of Colonel Samuel Bagshawe of Ford Hall.

brother (1778-1801), 214; Rev. William Bagshawe, *brother*, and *wife* Anne (1778-1801), 322; William, d. 1785 and John Bagshawe, d. 1791 (1778-91), 138; Caesar William Blake and the Rev. George Buxton (1794), 14; J. Bolton (1792-1801), 228; Philip Bowes Broke (1793-4), 10; William Buxton and Elizabeth, *wife* (1788-97), 21; Col. Henry Caldwell, *uncle* (1776-94), 18; Sir John Caldwell, 5th Bart. (1781-94), 9; John Caley of Gray's Inn (1795-1801), 41; Robert and Joseph Clay (1780-94), 6; Lady Mary Coghill, *née* Hort¹ and her *daughters* the Misses Cramer (1784-94), 16; respecting the Cotes Hall estate, co. York (1773-1800), 110; Robert Crafton (1794-1801), 51; Rebecca Creswick (1792-3), 16; John Cruso (1798-1801), 10; J. Curtis of Doctors' Commons (1788-1801), 15; Darling family of Hull (1779-1801), 154; Messrs. Denne, Snow, Sandley and Son, bankers, London (1790-1801), 14; Thomas Dewhurst (1794-1800), 26; Messrs. Dickenson and Shaw of Southgate (1794-1801), 20; David Ellis of the Temple (1794-9), 9; Francis Eyre of Hassop (1799), 4; Fairfax family (1792-1801), 17; foreign (French Protestant) emigrés (1783-1800), 41; Samuel Frith (1792-1801), 6; Rev. John Gee of Chapel-en-le-Frith (1782-4), 30; Capt. Gem, adjutant to Gen. James Coates (1791), 6; John Graham (1785-90), 7; Thomas Green and William Green (1790-8), 21; John Greenway and *son* John (1795-1801), 15; Messrs. Francis Gregg of London (1782-94), 14; Gregge-Hopwood family (1779-98), 61; James Grove (1791-4), 6; Micah Hall of Castleton (1779-1801), 193; John Heaton (1792-1801), 15; George Hounsfeld (1792-8), 26; Robert How (1790-1801), 35; Henry Kirk (1793-1800), 18; Lingard family of Astley, co. Lanc. (1779-1801), 60; Sir Francis and Lady Lumm (1791-3), 2; Benjamin Burton Lusk (1797), 4; James Mander (1796-1802), 82; A. L. Maynard (1792-1800), 9; Thomas Middleton and *wife* (1778-83), 4; M. and Mme. Monnecove (1796-1802), 61; Robert Mower (1800-1), 5; Michael Nolan (1791-1800), 19; the inhabitants of Norton, co. Derby (1790-1801), 133; Edward and Thomas Nucella (1784-1800), 24; John Nuttall and *son* George (1794-1801), 42; servants at the Oaks (1778-1801), 130; Joseph Outram and *son* Joseph (1791-1801), 148; Adamson Parker (1793-1801), 27; Perceval family (1779-1801), 35; Pollard family (1779-1801), 53; T. B. Richards (1795-1800), 12; M. and Mme. François Ferdinand Rivaz (1783-1801), 41; Rev. P. Robinson, vicar of Norton (1787-1801), 11; Samuel Rotherham (1790-4), 8; Rev. William and Mrs. Roundell, (1791-8), 10; Richard Ryder (1799-1800), 6; Rev. James and Mrs. Scott (1790-4), 8; Michael Shaw (1795-1801), 15; Noble Sherrard (1789-1801), 102; Shore family (1727-1801), 49; James and Ashton A. Shuttleworth (1795-1801), 6; Francis Sitwell and Sir Sitwell Sitwell (1779-1801), 23; Richard Slater (1793-1801), 9; Robert Starkie (1790-1800), 41; John Sterndale and *wife* (1797-1801), 7; Thomas Stones (1795-6), 5; T. R. Stuart (1798-1802), 15; Thomas Thornber (1790-7), 35; Robert Waller (1794-1801), 114; Albany Wallis (1781-95), 25; John Webster (1793-1800), 34; Mrs. Walter Weldon (1782-9), 11; Gideon Wells (1781-94), 12; Messrs.

¹ Sister of John Bagshawe's aunt Lady Caldwell, she married John Cramer who assumed the name of Coghill.

Isaac and John Wilkinson (1790-1801), 48 ; Edward Coke Wilmot (1780-1800), 18 ; miscellaneous letters (1789-1801), 494, arranged chronologically by W. G. H. Bagshawe (each correspondent is represented by one or two items only) namely, personal (264), business and estate (209), mining (12), fragments (9).

8/5/1-345. Accounts and papers.

Address book (late 18th cent.) ; mining papers and accounts, (1790-1801), 32 ; residuary papers and accounts (1801-3), 77 ; accounts, bills and papers (various) (1763-1801), 235.

**IX. SAMUEL BAGSHAWE (d. 1804) AND HIS WIFE CATHERINE
NÉE INKSTER (d. 1828).**

9/1/1-9/2/118. SAMUEL BAGSHAWE (d. 1804).

9/1/1-221. Personal correspondence and papers.

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9/1/222-466. Estate and business correspondence and papers.

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9/2/1-118. Accounts.

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9/3/1-509. CATHERINE BAGSHAWE, *née* INKSTER.

Correspondence and papers.

Mrs. Inkster, *mother*, and Mrs. Biggs, *sister* (1793-1801), 6 ; Catherine Bagshawe, *née* Caldwell (1793-1801), 9 ; Rev. William Bagshawe and *wife* Anne (1800-24), 47 ; miscellaneous correspondence and papers (1795-1821), 10 ; accounts and receipts, household and personal (1810-27), 437.

¹ Mainly correspondence with Albany Wallis.

X. REV. WILLIAM BAGSHAWE OF FORD HALL AND
BANNER CROSS (d. 1847)

10/1/1-507. Personal correspondence.

Anne Bagshawe, *wife* (1803-38), 41 ; Ann Bagshawe, later Mrs. Newton, *sister* (1794), 2 ; Rev. Augustus Adam Bagshawe (1840-7), 15 ; Catherine Bagshawe, *wife* of Samuel Bagshawe of Ford Hall (1803-30), 30 ; Bagshawe family of the Oaks (1802-46), 74 ; Darling family of Hull (1803-20), 12 ; Foxlowe family (1803-47), 60 ; Rev. Thomas Gisborne, of Yoxall Lodge, co. Staff. (1831-47), 7 ; Henry Marwood Greaves and *wife* Mary (1827-46), 47 ; Greaves family (1803-44), 11 ; Rev. Samuel Grundy and *wife* Margaret (1803-39), 12 ; Rev. Samuel Hall (1803-10), 6 ; Hon. Frances Harley (1816-18), 3 ; Rev. James Parker and *wife* Elizabeth (1836-47), 46 ; John Parker (1846), 3 ; Rev. James Pickford (1794-1841), 5 ; John Slack (1845-7), 6 ; Dr. Thomas Slacke (1830-41), 3 ; Rev. John Stackhouse (1839-46), 12 ; Mary and Louisa Sterndale (1826-40), 9 ; Rev. William H. Vale and *wife* Emily (1826-46), 9 ; miscellaneous (1794-1847), mainly local and domestic affairs, 94.

10/2/1-2992. Business and estate correspondence, accounts and papers.

John Bagshawe of the Oaks (d. 1801), mainly residuary (1798-1837), 52 ; Sir William Bagshawe (c. 1810), 10 ; William Bennett (1834-47), 19 ; Joseph Bishop (1803-24), 20 ; John Bolton (1802-14), 13 ; Messrs. Bouverie and Antrobus (1800-48), 152 ; John Carr and *son* Charles (1814-18), 8 ; John Ellill (1808-37), 13 ; Mary Fretwell (1803-18), 7 ; John Hall (1822-41), 11 ; Robert How (1803-21), 18 ; Francis Jessop (1803-45), 29 ; Henry Kirk (1803-38), 17 ; Messrs. Longman, Rees & Co. (1832-8), 14 ; respecting mines, mainly the Grassington, Glory and Miners Engine mines (1801-42), 30 ; Lt.-Gen. William Murray, residuary correspondence and papers (1818-47), 186 ; Ann Newton, *sister* (1811-43), 50 ; Robert and Wilson Overend (1804-5), 7 ; respecting railways (mainly the North Midland) and canals (1830-46), 16 ; respecting turnpikes and other roads (1805-44), 22 ; Joseph Walker¹ (1810-47), 180 ; Robert Waller (1805-17), 13 ; Isaac Wilkinson (1804-20), 12 ; Benjamin and William Wyatt (1801-46), 76 ; miscellaneous business correspondence (1802-46), 75 ; miscellaneous estate correspondence (1799-1846), 104 ; miscellaneous business papers (1798-1846), 9 ; bills and accounts, household and personal (1798-1843), 1,856.

10/3/1-224. Ecclesiastical correspondence and papers.

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¹ Mainly respecting improvements at Ford Hall, 1831-47.

10/4/1-460. Letter-Books, drafts and memoranda.

Letter-books (3 imperf.) (1824-39), 8 ; drafts (1801-46), 219 ; fragments of drafts, n.d. (19th cent.), 60 ; memoranda (1801-46), 90 ; prescriptions and household recipes (19th cent.), 83.

10/5/1-12. WILLIAM BAGSHAWE¹ (d. 1818).

Correspondence.

Anne Bagshawe, *mother* (1812-18), 10 ; William Bagshawe, *father* (1814) ; Mrs. Catherine Bagshawe, *aunt* (1811).

XI. MISCELLANEA

Under this heading are arranged letters and papers which it has not been possible to relate to individual members of the family.

11/1/1-18. Correspondence. 18th-19th cent.

11/2/1-58. Papers and accounts :

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XII. MANUSCRIPT VOLUMES

12/1/1-61. FAMILY AND ESTATE.

FORD.

COLONEL SAMUEL BAGSHAWE (d. 1762).

1. Rental, with executors' accounts: 1763-8. With copy.

2. Executors' accounts: 1762-76.

SAMUEL BAGSHAWE (d. 1804).

3. "A Terrier referring to Maps hereunto annexed of several Estates belonging to Samuel Bagshawe Esq^r. Surveyed in the Year 1776 by J. Nuttal."

4. Accounts of Micah Hall, agent: 1765-77. 2 vols.

5. Bailiff's Book: 1779-80.

6. "Creditor and Debtor: abstract of their Accounts with Saml. Bagshawe": 1779-82. Holograph.

7. Farming and household accounts, with miscellaneous memoranda (1781-85). 2 vols. Holograph.

8. Account Books (miscellaneous): 1782, 4 fols., imperf. ; 1783-7. 2 vols. Holograph.

9. "Pineapple Book 1792."

10. Mr. [Albany] Wallis's accounts of receipts and payments. 1762-94. 3 vols.

¹ Son of the Rev. William Bagshawe.

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11. "Receipts Alphabetically arranged." 1770-94. With an index to letters and copies of letters, 1726-95. Holograph.
12. "Value etc. of Sam^l. Bagshawe's Esq^r. Estates situate at Wormhill, Forrest, Over-end, Green Fairfield, Chappel-en-le-Frith, Ford, Roich and Wash, 1793." With copy.
13. "Remarks from History." 18th cent., 8 fols. Imperf. Holograph. Notes on Roman History and miscellaneous memoranda.
14. Rentals and estate accounts : 1781-94 (holograph); 1788-1803. 2 vols.

CATHERINE BAGSHAWE, NÉE INKSTER (d. 1828).

15. Journals: 1792-1826 *passim*. 11 vols. Holograph.

REV. WILLIAM BAGSHAWE (d. 1847).

16. "An Account of Housekeeping," in the hand of Mrs. Anne Bagshawe. 1798-1804. Apparently relating to Dronfield. Inserted are loose accounts, 1805-6.
17. Journal: November and December 1813. With household accounts relating to Hinckley, 1813-14. Holograph.
18. Inventory of books and household furniture. 1815.
19. Surveys of estates at Wormhill, co. Derby : 1813; 1830. 2 vols.
20. Accounts respecting improvements at Ford. 1837-43. 4 notebooks.
21. Household accounts. 1840-46. 6 notebooks.
22. Account Books (miscellaneous). 1763-1847, *passim*. 4 vols. Holograph.
23. Wheat Account Book. 1845-8.
24. Accounts with the Sheffield Banking Co. 1831-48. 2 vols. Includes executors' accounts, 1847-48.
25. Accounts with Joseph Walker, steward. 1841-58.
26. Topographical commonplace book. 19th cent.

ANNE BAGSHAWE NÉE FOXLOWE (d. 1844)

27. Account Book (miscellaneous). 1799. Holograph.

BANNER CROSS.

JOHN BRIGHT (d. 1748).

28. Accounts of receipts and payments. 1739-48. (Also in this volume are accounts of Nicholas Saunders, 1687-92.)
29. Rent accounts. 1729-54. (Also in this volume are rent accounts of John Bright (d. 1734).)

LT.-GEN. WILLIAM MURRAY (d. 1818).

30. Building accounts. 1817-21. A note by Jeffry Wyatt (Sir Jeffry Wyatville) on the inner front-cover states *This Book Belongs to Lieut. Genl. Murray.*
31. Building accounts : Stone, 1817-21. With a similar note by Wyatt.

32. Building accounts : Carpenters' Wage Book, 1817-21.
33. Building accounts : Labourers' Wage Book, 1818-21.
34. Building accounts : William Dent, Clerk of the Works, 1817-23.

REV. WILLIAM BAGSHAWE (d. 1847).

35. Journal, with miscellaneous farming accounts added. 1828-33.
In the hand of Joseph Walker, steward.
36. Accounts with Joseph Sharp. 1842-3.
37. Household accounts. 1840-5. 2 notebooks.
38. Accounts with Joseph Walker, steward. 1821-51.
39. Timber accounts. 1821-55. 2 vols.
40. Rentals: 1784-1866 *passim*. 2 vols.

THE OAKS.

RICHARD BAGSHAWE (d. 1776).

41. "A survey book of Lands at Wormhill lying in Fostry Field (or in some others adjoining) in the Parish of Tiddeswell and County of Derby, Taken for Richd. Bagshaw, Esq. By William Dickinson Anno Domini 1742."
42. Accounts of personal estate and debts. 1733-64. Holograph.
43. Account Books (miscellaneous). 1750-70. 6 notebooks.
44. Household accounts. 1765-71. 6 notebooks.
45. "Oakes Inventory. Begun Jany. 1772."
46. Accounts with W. Hodgkinson, steward. 1750-76. 6 vols. (1 imperf.).

WILLIAM BAGSHAWE (d. 1785).

47. Household accounts. 1778-80. In the hand of Mrs. Eliza Ellis.
48. Account Books (miscellaneous). 1741-81. 13 notebooks (1 imperf.). Holograph.
49. Accounts with Messrs. Denne & Co. 1754-92.

JOHN BAGSHAWE (d. 1791).

50. Valuation of the tithes of corn and hay for lands in Hope and Ashop. 1774.
51. Account Books (miscellaneous). 1746-75. 4 notebooks (1 imperf.).
52. Household accounts. 1786-91.
53. Rentals for estates in the hundreds of Scarsdale and High Peak : 1798-1801 (2 items); 1798-9.
54. Accounts of John Curtiss and Robert How, agents : 1785-8 (2 vols.); 1764-92. 4 vols. (1 imperf.).

JOHN BAGSHAWE (d. 1801).

55. Account Book. 1779.
56. Accounts with Baron Dimsdale Sons and Barnard and Son, bankers. 1791-8. 2 notebooks.

57. "Kearsleys' Gentleman and Tradesman's Pocket Ledger." 1793 and 1799. With manuscript entries in the hand of John Bagshawe. 2 vols.
58. Memoranda books. 18th cent. 2 vols.

MINING.

59. Account book of lead bought, sold and shipped. 1708-19. [Concerns the Bright family of Banner Cross.]
60. Mineral accounts of Richard Bagshawe of Castleton. 1709-15.
61. "A Reckoning for the Consolidated Mineral Tytles called Stough Shaw Engine and Brookhead." 1747-69. Concerns the Bagshawes of the Oakes.

12/2/1-7. MISCELLANEOUS.

1. Sermons of Samuel Gardiner, rector of Eckington, co. Derby (1652-86) and prebendary of Lichfield (1666-80). 1 vol. 2 sermons are subscribed: *Preached at Litchfield [sic] May 20, 1666 and Litchfielde 1671.*
2. Mathematical exercise book: "John Bright's Book of 1696" (fol. 1).
3. Nonconformist sermons (apparently Congregational). 1748-74 *passim*. 11 booklets, each marked on the front with the place(s) of delivery.
4. Legal notebook, mainly testamentary. 18th cent.
5. Legal notebook, mainly respecting the duties of Justices of the Peace. 18th cent.
6. Greek-Latin vocabularies. 18th cent. 2 vols.
7. Notes on Derbyshire parishes by John Reynolds, junior. 1 vol. (unbound and imperf.). 19th cent.

[*To be continued*]

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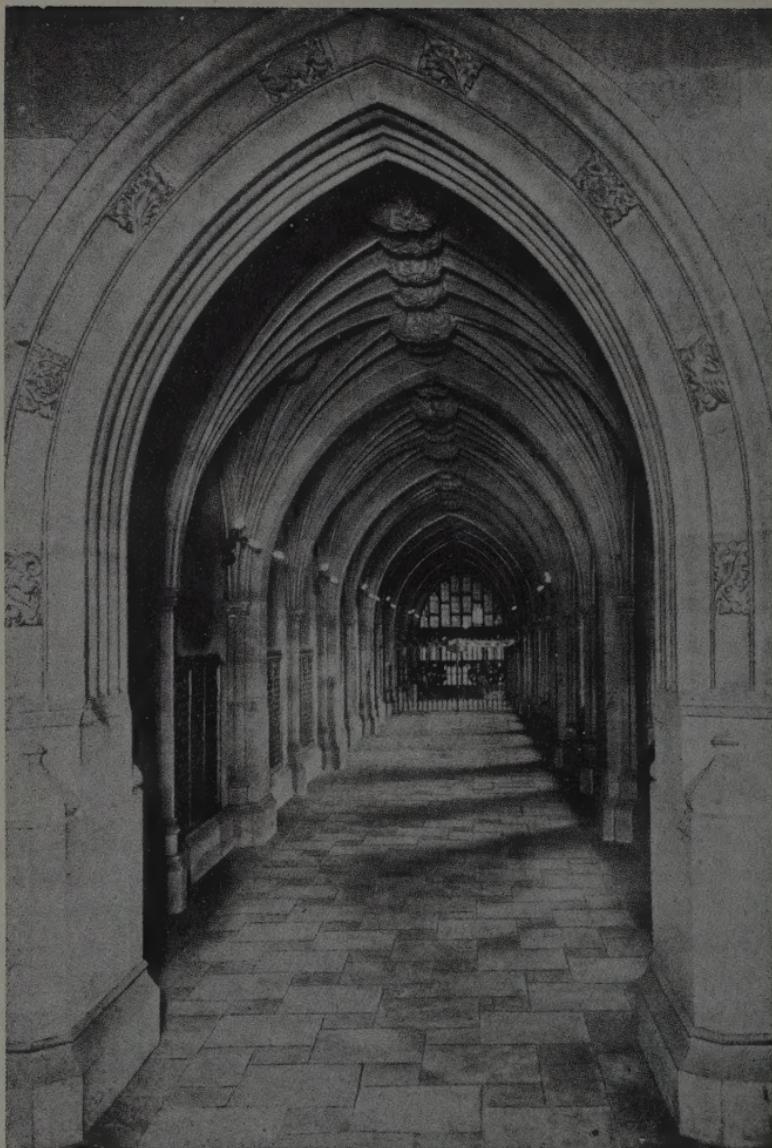
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